

<sup>K</sup>  
**BOWER AND TILLEMONT**  
 COMPARED:

OR,

The first Volume of the pretended *original* and  
*Protestant* HISTORY of THE POPES, shewn to  
 be chiefly a Translation from a *Popish* one;

WITH

Some farther Particulars, relating to the True CHA-  
 RACTER and CONDUCT of the *Translator*.

TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED

A very circumstantial ACCOUNT of his Escape  
 from *Macerata* to *England*, as taken from his  
 own Mouth.

---

By the AUTHOR of, *Six Letters from A—d B—r to Father*  
*Sheldon, Provincial of the Jesuits, illustrated, &c.*

---

Vane Ligur, frustra que animis elate superbis,  
 Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes,  
 Nec Fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet *Auno.*

VIR.

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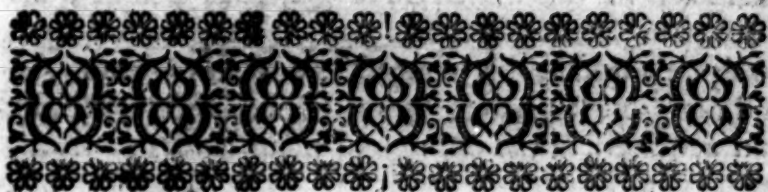
L O N D O N,

Printed for J. MORGAN in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1757.

[Price ONE Shilling and Six-pence.]







**I**F it must give satisfaction to an author, to find that his performance engaged the attention of the public, it must give him still higher pleasure to find that it also obtained their approbation, and, of its many readers, left few, or none, unconvinced. — As I may be allowed to express myself thus, without deviating from the truth, concerning the Pamphlet in which I laid before the world the *real* character of Mr. *A - - d B - - r*, I think I may also be allowed to do it, without being charged with vanity. The subject of that little performance, did not demand ornaments of stile, smartness of wit, or accuracy of argument: all that was necessary to be done, was to relate matters of fact with clearness and impartiality. And as little skill was required in the execution of this, little or no merit can be claimed from the result of it: so that I may be permitted to speak of the great success of my performance, without being thought to assume to myself a victory, which the nature of my subject, not my manner of treating it, could not fail to obtain.

Indeed unless the facts disclosed, in the *Six Letters illustrated*, &c. had been supported by a chain of the strongest proofs, that Pamphlet could not have been able to open the eyes of the nation. The historian of the Popes had, for many years, enjoyed the highest place in the public esteem; the wonder-

ful tale of his escape, as industriously propagated as it was generally believed, had greatly raised his character in the minds of a generous people; his labours in defence of the Protestant religion had been nobly rewarded; his connections were honourable, and his protectors were powerful; and besides this, he had acquired, in the opinion of many lovers of truth, peculiar advantages, from the *solemn denial* he had made of the charge brought against him. All these circumstances therefore would have deterred me from attempting to undeceive my countrymen, if I had not been certain, that the facts which I had to produce, would have the same effect upon others that they had upon myself, and be found of such a nature, and so authentically supported, as to leave Mr. Bower, amongst a people, whose good sense enables them to correct the mistakes of their good nature, no advocates, but those whose prejudices would not allow them to examine, or those who had private reasons for not owning conviction.

The event having answered my most sanguine expectations, it may, perhaps, be thought strange to find Mr. Archibald Bower again brought upon the stage, after having been so unanimously hissed off; and, at first sight, it may seem to have the air of unnecessary severity to load with fresh accusations one already convicted, and to continue the prosecution of a criminal, even after sentence of condemnation hath been passed. But, there are reasons sufficiently strong which have induced me once more to take the pen into my hand.

Convicted as the historian of the Popes hath been of the grossest impostures invented to deceive the Protestant inhabitants of Great Britain, it hath been observed with wonder and concern, that an attempt is still made to screen him from infamy, by some few persons who ought to have been the earliest in disclaiming all connection with him; as their testimony had been the principal means of establishing his reputation.

putation. The facts urged in my former Pamphlet being too stubborn to admit of palliation, or to receive an answer, it seemeth to be their opinion, that Mr. *Bower's* impostures are all to be overlooked on account of the service which his book hath done to the Protestant religion; that the base conduct of the man hath been attoned for by the abilities of the writer; and that, consequently, any attempt to expose him ought to be discouraged by Protestants.

Tho' this appeareth to be very strange doctrine, and tho' that person, whoever he be, who connects the support of an impostor with the interests of religion seems little to consult its honour, *doing evil that good may come of it*; I am contented, however, to join issue upon this point, and to confess that I have done wrong in detecting Mr. *Bower*; that my love of truth hath got the better of my Protestant zeal, if it shall appear that the history of the Popes has that merit which it is said to have; if it really hath done, or was calculated to do any service to the cause of the *reformation*, of which I am as warm an espouser as the greatest admirer that Mr. *Bower* can boast of. But if, on the contrary, it shall be made out to a demonstration that the *History of the Popes* is a most despicable performance, that "far from having thrown the least light upon any point of controversy between us and the church of Rome, the author did not know the strength of the cause which he undertakes to defend; that he hath not looked into antiquity himself, but contented him with being a servile copyer of modern Popish compilers;" if this general character of Mr. *Bower's* history which I gave in my former Pamphlet (and which I was well apprized it deserved, before I had any reason to suspect the sincerity of the writer) can be well confirmed, by descending to particular instances, I flatter myself that I shall then have answered,



ed, effectually, the only plea, such as it is, that can be urged in defence of Mr. Bower. This, then, shall be my principal view in the present sheets: and if I succeed in my undertaking, I shall expect from the candour of those who affect still to think well of the historian for the sake of his history, that they will confess they have pronounced their opinion about this matter, either hastily, or ignorantly. But whatever effect my present labours may have upon them; I make not the least doubt of being able to satisfy the impartial public, which hath already done justice to my views in *unmasking Mr. Bower*: that his book justly deserves the above character, and is exactly of a piece with the whole conduct of the man.

Mr. Bower, in the preface to his first volume, after telling us *that the work which he now offers to the public, he undertook some years since at Rome, and brought down to the pontificate of Victor, that is to the close of the second century*, says that, in the prosecution of it, he *examined with particular attention the writings of the apostles, and of the many pious and learned men, who had flourished in the three first centuries of the church*†. — Soon after, we hear him again boasting of the pains he had taken in compiling his history, as followeth. *In delivering the lives of the bishops who governed the church of Rome during the three first ages of christianity, I have confined myself wholly to the primitive writers, trusting no modern any farther than as he wrote from the ancients.*

From these declarations made to the world, and which, it is well known Mr. Bower took every opportunity of confirming, in private conversation, it appears how careful this honest, conscientious author was to enhance the value of his book, by endeavouring to make the public believe, that it was not a collection from collections, or a translation from translations, but that, in the composition of it, he had

carefully examined those original writers, from whom a history of the Popes, if it be a good one, ought to be compiled. But that the historian hath shamelessly deceived his readers, in this most essential circumstance, and that *Mr. Bower* sounding the praises of his own work, deserves as little credit as *Mr. Bower* denying his own hand-writing, shall now be demonstrated, by laying before the publick a scene of *plagiarism*, the disclosing of which tho' it may not be effectual to confound him who durst execute it, may, I hope, absolutely silence his only defenders, those who infer the merit of the man from that of his work.

*Tillemont*, the *Frenchman*, hath, in sixteen huge quarto volumes, collected the ecclesiastical history of the first six centuries; a very valuable work, and which would have wanted nothing to make it perfect had the author's skill and discernment as a critic, been equal to his labour and integrity as a compiler. The plan of his work could not be executed without including the history of the *bishops of Rome*; most of whom have their lives written, in separate articles; and the actions of those whose lives have not a place here, are related under the lives of other bishops, or under the article of some particular heresy, or persecution.

Whatever claims *Mr. Bower* might make to erudition, no sooner was his work published than men of learning, who looked into it, saw it to be an ordinary collection from moderns, and, in particular, that *Tillemont* had been of great service to him. But tho' it was well known that he had little pretension to be esteemed as an original writer, the opinion which the nation was taught to entertain of him, as a sufferer for the sake of conscience and a sincere convert to the Protestant religion, induced those who could not receive the history of the Popes with approbation, as having any intrinsic value, to receive it, however, with some kind of indulgence, on account of the

supposed character of the author. But when, upon the discovery of Mr. Bower's connections and correspondence with the *Jesuits*, it appeared that he had grossly imposed upon Protestants in this particular, the only reason which had made the public inclined to overlook the imperfections of his book being removed, it became highly proper, at the time when his impostures were disclosed, to say something of his plagiarism. Accordingly, in my former pamphlet I drew the real character of the history of the Popes, and amongst other things, mentioned that *Tillemont's Ecclesiastical Memoirs was a copious fund of matter, so far as they go, for our Protestant historian* \*. The nature of my subject prevented me, then, from confirming this general assertion any otherwise than by transcribing, in a note, some few particulars which had been observed by the Popish remarker on the lives of the Popes. Nor, indeed, did I think it, in the least, material, to be very minute in tracing Mr. Bower's plagiarism, as it did not occur to me then that a work whose principal merit, had, in the judgment of the learned, arisen from the supposed good character of the author, could be represented, by any one pretending to learning, to be so valuable, as to intitle the author to the continuance of the public favour, even after *his real* character was known. But as this plea hath been made use of, as it hath been and still is artfully propagated, that by the attack upon Mr. Bower's private character, Protestants will be robbed of a book calculated to do great service to their religion; in order to prevent such delusions from imposing upon the unwary and misleading the illiterate, I have thought it my duty to give the public all the light I could upon this subject, and shall now proceed to shew, what will reflect no great credit on the learning and judgment of some persons who have been forward upon this occasion, that *Bower in delivering the lives of the ancient bishops*



of Rome instead of examining with particular attention the primitive writers and consulting himself rubolly to them, follows Tillemont as his guide through the dark roads of antiquity, so closely, that the English history of the Popes, at least where it is a history, scarcely deserves any better name than that of a translation, from the Frenchman. That my readers may receive full satisfaction concerning this matter, and have ocular proof of the real intrinsic merit of this so much boasted history, I shall, by way of specimen, set down, with the utmost exactness, Bower's lives of the four first Popes, in one column, preserving also all the citations which I find at the bottom of his page; and, on an opposite column, I shall place Tillemont's relation of the same facts, and the citations on his margin. And as the reader need only cast his eye, from the one to the other column, to satisfy himself that, except in a few places, which I have marked by *Italics*, the English is a servile translation of the French; so will he, by perusing the notes which I have subjoined, meet with such striking instances of profound ignorance, and inexcusable blunders, as must convince every candid Protestant, that whoever extols Mr. Bower's history of the Popes, as a work that can be of service against Popery, must either not know what he says, or else have motives for saying it, which he does not choose to avow.

the attack upon Mr. Bower's private character. Protestants will be tempted of a book calculated to do great service to their religion: in order to prevent such delusions from imposing upon the unwary and misleading the illiterate, I have thought it my duty to give the public all the light I could upon this subject, and shall now proceed to shew, what will reflect no great credit on the learning and judgment of some persons who have been forward upon this occasion, that Bower is deserving the name of the ancient bishop.

(A) *Extracts from the life of Clement.*

Citations.

(a) Tert.  
Pref. c. 32.  
p. 243. b.(b) Recog.  
P. 398. (B)(c) Hier.  
V. III. c. 15.(d) Iren. l.  
3. c. 31.  
p. 232. d.(e) Euseb. l. 3.  
c. 2. b. 4. c.  
21.(f) Optat. l.  
2. p. 48.(g) Epiph.  
hæret. 27. c.  
6. p. 107. a.(h) Aug.  
Epi. 165.(i) Theod.  
in 2 Tim. c.4. v. 21. p.  
506. d.

IL est très difficile d'accorder les anciens entr'eux touchant les premiers successeurs de S. Pierre : Tertullien (a) voulant montrer que l'Eglise Romaine tiroit son origine des apôtres, le prouve parceque S. Clément avoit été ordonné eveque par S. Pierre. C'a été (b) depuis le sentiment de Rufine—& généralement l'opinion commune de tous les Latins à la fin du iv<sup>me</sup> siècle. — Cependant — Jerom (c) assure nettement que, nonobstant le sentiment des Latins, S. Lin a été le second eveque de Rome, S. Anaclel le troisieme, & S. Clément le quatrieme. S. Line a donc succédé immédiatement à S. Pierre selon S. Jerom—dont le sentiment est appuyé sur le témoignage de S. Irénée (d), d'Euclide (e), de S. Optat (f), de S. Epiphane (g), de S. Augustin (h), de Theodoret (i). Et après S. Lin, il faut mettre Anaclel, selon les mêmes auteurs, hormis que S. Epiphane le nomme Clet, & que S. Optat & S. Augustin le mettent après S. Clément. Note 1. ad p. 164 sur S. Clement Pape, p. 587.

Elle

(A) I use the word *Extract*, because, *Tillemont* being vastly more copious than *Bower*, and containing much matter untouched by his copyer, I have selected those passages only which the English historian has made use of.—For the same reason, I have not preserved all the citations of *Tillemont*; except in one or two places, where this became necessary in order to expose *Bower's* gross blunders.

(B) *Bower* has not only translated his text from *Tillemont*, but has servily copied his citations, as any one may see, by comparing, as he goes along, the marginal references, on each column. It is very remarkable that the English historian seldom gives us the page, of the authors whom he cites; but when he

does

Vol. I. p. 9. *Linus first bishop of Rome.*

**T**HERE is a great disagreement among the ancients about the first bishops of Rome: Tertullian makes Clement, whom he supposes to have been ordained by St. Peter, the immediate successor of that apostle (a). He was followed therein by Rufinus (b), and Rufinus by the Latins in general, among whom that opinion universally prevailed towards the end of the fourth century. But Jerom, rejecting the opinion of the Latins, places Linus immediately after the apostles, Anacletus next to him, and Clement in the third place (c). His opinion is supported by the authority of Irenaeus (d), Eusebius (e), Theodoret (f), and likewise of Epiphanius (g), Optatus (h), Mylevitanus, and St. Augustin (i), with this difference, that Epiphanius gives the name of Cletus to the successor of Linus, and both Optatus and St. Augustin place him after Clement; but in this they all agree, that Linus was the first after the apostles, who governed the church of Rome.

He does give it, then we always find the same page cited in *Tillemont*; as in the present case, where both quote the 398th page of the *Recognitions*; and the 48th page of *Optatus*.

matter untouched by his copyist. I have selected those passages only which the English historian has made use of—for the same reason, I have not preserved all the citations of *Villemont*; except in one or two places where this became necessary in order to expose Bower's gross blunders.

(B) Bower has not only translated his text from the French, but has slavishly copied his citations, as any one may see, by comparing, as he goes along, the marginal references, on each column. It is very remarkable that the English historian seldom gives us the names of the authors whom he cites; but when he does

Citations.

(a) Tert. de  
Præf. haret.  
c. 32.  
(b) Recog.  
p. 398.(c) Hier. vir.  
illust. c. 15.(d) Iren. l.  
3. c. 3.  
(e) Euseb. l.  
2. c. 2. l. 4.(f) Theod.  
in 2. Tim.  
17. 21.(g) Epiph.  
her. 27. c.(h) Optat. l.  
2. p. 48.(i) Aug. ep.  
165.

To



(1) Conf.  
l. 7. c. 46.  
p. 327. b.

Elle est marquée (k) dans les constitutions, qui portent qu'assez long tems avant la mort de St. Pierre, S. Lin fut ordonné évêque de Rome par S. Paul, p. 164.

Nous sommes assuré par Tertullien, que S. Clément a reçu l'ordination épiscopale de S. Pierre. Ibid.

Hamond, pretre Protestant d'Angleterre, dans un ouvrage où il soutient l'épiscopat contre les presbyteriens, donne une autre solution. Car il croit qu'il n'est pas improbable que S. Clément gouvernoit les juifs de Rome en même tems, que S. Lin & Anaclete y gouvernoit. P'un après l'autre les Gentils, & qu'Anaclete étant mort, S. Clément avoit reçu sous lui toute l'Eglise Romaine (l): qu'ainsi il avoit succédé immédiatement aux apôtres selon Tertullien, Rufine, & tous les

(l) Ham. l.  
5. c. 1. p.  
257.

Latins,

To the authority of these writers I may add that of the apostolic constitutions, telling us in express terms, that Linus was ordained bishop of Rome by St. Paul. (A) Const. apost. l. 7. c. 46.

As to what we read in Tertullian and Rufinus, viz. that Clement was ordained by St. Peter and named to succeed him, Dr. Hammond answers, That Clement governed with episcopal power and jurisdiction the converted Jews, while Linus and Anacletus governed, with the same power the converted Gentiles. He adds, that upon the death of Anacletus, both churches were united under him (1). Thus he strives to reconcile the opinion of the Latins, placing Clement immediately after the apostles, with that of the Greeks, allowing him only the third place: (1) Hamm. l. 5. c. 1. (A) for

(A) Such a method of quoting Dr. Hammond is very observable. For in the voluminous works of this great man, which fill four folio volumes, consisting of a variety of independent tracts, where are we to look for *this* fifth book and first chapter?—Bower it is demonstrable, quotes Hammond at a venture, from Tillemont, who gives us exactly the same vague reference on his margin. But Tillemont had a good reason for using this seemingly unintelligible method of citation. At the beginning of each volume, he gives us an alphabetical table of all the authors quoted by him, the editions he made use of, and the particular parts of their works referred to. Under the word Hammond, we find it mentioned in this table, that it is the fifth book and first chapter of a treatise *de Episcopatus Juribus*, which is here referred to; and the edition cited bears date, London, 1651. This sufficiently accounts for Tillemont's manner of quoting Dr. Hammond. But for Bower, who gives us no table of citations of the particular treatises referred to, or of the editions, to make use of it, is as absurd as it would be in a lawyer to quote the fifth chapter of his statute book, without mentioning the king's reign; or for a divine to quote the fifth chapter and first verse of St. Paul, without specifying the epistle.—But that Bower did

Latins, mais seulement à l'égard des Juifs; & qu'à l'égard des Gentils, il n'avoit succédé qu'à Anaclete, selon S. Jérôme, S. Irénée, & tous les Grecs (m). Note 1. ad p. 164 p. 588.

(m) Ham. p. 257, 258.

(n) Const. N. p. 298. d. e.

Mr. Cotelier (n) trouve cette solution subtile ingénieuse, & assez vraie & plausible. Il ne la suit pas, néanmoins, parceque ce n'est pas le sens des constitutions, & parcequ'elle n'est appuyée d'aucun ancien. Ib.

Pearson rejette absolument toute opinion qui admet deux évêques dans un même siège, parceque c'est la règle de l'Eglise qu'il n'y en ait qu'un (o). p. 590.

(o) Pearl. post. p. 159, 161.

did quote Dr. Hammond from Tillemont, will be still more evident to any one who has turned to the doctor's works. The treatise in question, concludes the fourth volume; and the whole title is as follows. *Dissertationes 4, quibus episcopatus jura ex S. scripturis, & primævâ antiquitate, adstruuntur, contra sententiam D. Blondelli & aliorum; quibus præmittitur dissertatio præliminaris de antichristis.* Upon turning it over, I find that there is no distinction into books, but that each dissertation is divided into chapters; and the place referred to by Tillemont, is actually in the first chapter of the fifth dissertation. Had Bower ever seen the original, he would have altered this impropriety, and quoted the fifth dissertation, not the fifth book. I shall only add, that his reference, p. 247—258, is another demonstration that he had not seen Hammond. For there is not above one page (925, of the folio edition,) where the point is treated of; and the edition of London, 1651, in quarto, which I lately met with, agrees perfectly with Tillemont's reference, p. 257, 258.

(B) The Bower, at the bottom of his page, refers us to four different letters of St. Cyprian, the 44, 45, 46, and 47th, the whole question which he has given us from that father, seems to be in the 44th letter, where we read—Cum nos hic copiosius tractemus, nonne fructuosius legem contra iustitiam? Had Mr. Bower known this, the three other references to St. Cyprian would have been omitted.

On



for granting what he advances to be true, and reasons are not wanting to support it, Clement was agreeably to the opinion of the Latins, the immediate successor of the apostles, with respect to the Jews; but, with respect to the Gentiles, he succeeded Anacletus, agreeably to the opinion of the Greeks (m). This answer Cotelerius applauds as an ingenious learned, and probable solution; but, at the same time, rejects it as contradicting, in his opinion, the apostolic constitutions, and not supported by the authority of any ancient writer (n). The learned Dr. Pearson will admit no opinion that supposes two bishops to have presided together in one city (o), that being an irregularity (B), according to St. Cyprian (p), "contrary to the ecclesiastical disposition, contrary to the evangelic law, contrary to the rules of the catholic institution," and condemned as such by the council of Nice (q). It is very much to be doubted, as I have shewn above, whether St. Peter ever was at Rome, and consequently whether Clement was ordained, by him, bishop of that city. His not succeeding him is a proof, that he was not; for who can imagine, that the people and clergy of those days would have thought of choosing any other, or that any other choosen, would have accepted of a dignity, to which Clement had been named by St. Peter himself, and which he was actually possessed of

(B) Tho' Bower, at the bottom of his page, refers us to four different letters of St. Cyprian, the 44, 46, 52, and 55th, the whole quotation which he has given us, from that father, seems to be in the 44th letter, where we read, —Cum vos illic comperissem contra dispositionem Dei, contra evangelicam legem contra institutionis Catholicae unitatem, alium episcopum fieri consensisse, &c. Had Mr. Bower known this, the three other references to S. Cyprian would have been omitted.

at

(r) Iren. l.

3. c. 3. p.

232. d.

Euf. l. 3. c.

2. p. 73.

2 Tim.

(s) Const. l.

7. c. 46. p.

327. b.

(t) Tert. in

Mar. c. 3.

p. 203.

On croit (r) que S. Lin est celui même, dont S. Paul fait les recommandations à S. Timothée. Quelques uns (s) veulent sur l'autorité du livre des constitutions, qu'il fut fils de Claudia, dont S. Paul parle au même endroit. Un auteur (t), dont on ne sait pas le tems, l'appelle grand homme, & fort approuvé du peuple, p. 165.

L'Eglise Latine l'honore tous les jours dans la célébration des saints mystères, entre les martyrs, p. 166.

Je ne sache point d'ancien qui l'ait dit, non pas même S. Irenée, lors qu'il parle de S. Lin, & des autres premiers Papes, entre les quels il n'en marque aucun de martyr que S. Téléphore. — Baronius (u) pour soutenir

(u) Bar. 80.

§. 1, 2.

qu'il est mort par le martyre, ait évité a dessein de mettre comme Eusebe la mort sous Tite, quoique ses principes l'y portaient naturellement, parce qu'il demeure d'accord qu'il n'y eut point de martyrs sous ce prince, & qu'il ait mieux aimé la mettre sous Vespasien. Mais (w) quoiqu'il soit vrai que Vespasien a fait chercher tous ceux qui étoient

(w) Euseb.

l. 3. c. 32.

p. 37, 6.

de la race de David, ce qui causa une grande persécution contre les Juifs, il ne fit rien néanmoins contre les chrétiens, selon Eusebe :

(x) Tert.

Apol. c. 5.

p. 7. a.

— & Tértullien (x) nous assure qu'il n'a point fait de loy contre les chrétiens, p. 596, 597. S. Lin gouverna l'Eglise de Rome, durant douze ans depuis la mort de S. Pierre, selon

(y) Euf. l.

3. c. 13. p.

37.

(z) Epi. 27.

c. 6. p. 27.

c.

Eusebe (y), and S. Epiphane (z). —

at the apostles death? Be that as it will, Linus is now universally acknowledged both by the Greeks and Latins for the first bishop of Rome.

As for the life and actions of Linus, all I can find in the ancients concerning him is, that it was he whom St. Paul mentioned in his epistle to Timothy (r); that, upon the authority of the apostolick constitutions, he was supposed, by some to have been the son of Claudia, whom the apostle mentions in the same place (s); that his life and conversation were much approved of by the people. The church of Rome allows him, in the canon of the mass, a place among the martyrs; but no mention is made of his having suffered for the faith, either in the ancient martyrologies or in Irenæus, who, speaking of him, and his immediate successors, distinguishes none but Telesphorus, with the title of martyr. Baronius, determined to maintain, right or wrong, the credit of the sacred canon, in opposition to all the ancients, nay, and to his own system, cuts off one year from the pontificate of Linus, that he may place his death under Vespasian, and not, as Eusebius has done (u) under Titus, in whose reign he owns none to have suffered for the faith (w). Had he remembered what he must have read in Tertullian and Eusebius, he had saved himself that trouble; for Tertullian assures us, that Vespasian made no laws against the christians (x); and Eusebius us, that he did not molest them, tho' he caused a diligent search to be made after those who were of the race of David, which occasioned a dreadful persecution against the Jews (y). Linus governed the church of Rome, according to Eusebius (z) and Epiphanius.

(r) Iren. l.

3. c. 3. Euseb.

feb. l. 3. c.

2. Tim. iv.

21.

(s) Const.

apost. l. 7.

c. 46.

(t) Terr. in

Mar. c. 3.

(u) Euseb. l.

3. c. 3.

(w) Bar.

annal. ad

ann. 80.

(x) Tert.

apol. c. 5.

(y) Euseb.

l. 3. c. 12.

(z) Id. ib.

c. 13.



S. Pierre étant mort comme nous croyons, ---  
66, S. Lin doit avoir gouverné jusqu'à  
vers la fin de l'an 78. Notes ad p. 166;  
p. 595, 596.

(a) Bibl.

Patr. t. 7.

p. 157.

(b) Bar. 69.

§. 6. d.

(c) Voss.

hist. G. l. 2.

c. 9. p. 201.

(d) Bar. 80.

3. 4

On a (a), sous le nom de S. Lin des actes  
du martyre de S. Pierre & de S. Paul. Mais  
c'est (b) une pièce remplie de beau coup d'  
erreurs. Baronius soutient qu'elle est sup-  
posée, ou du moins fort corrompue, si elle a  
jamais été véritable. Plusieurs (c) auteurs  
en portent le même jugement. Trithème  
(d) attribue aussi à S. Lin une histoire de la  
dispute de S. Pierre contre Simon, qui ne se  
trouve plus. C'est peut être quelque pièce  
semblable à celle dont nous venons de parler.  
Au moins Eusèbe, ni S. Jérôme n'en parlent  
par d'avantage. Les decrets qu'on pretend  
qu'il a fait, ne peuvent pas non plus avoir  
d'autorité, ne se lisant que dans Anastase, ou  
dans des auteurs semblables, p. 166.

S.

phanus (a), 12 years; so that, if we place (a) Epiph. with them, the death of St. Peter in 66, Linus must have died in the year 78, of the christian era. We have, under the name of Linus, two books of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul (b); but they are generally looked upon as suppositions (c). Trithemius (D) makes him the author of the life of St. Peter, in which a particular account was given of the dispute between that apostle and Simon the magician. This piece has not reached our times, and was perhaps of the same stamp with the other, since it is never mentioned either by Eusebius or St. Jerom. The decrees that are ascribed to him, are no where to be found, but in Anastatius Bibliothecarius, and such like writers, whose authority is of no weight in matters so distant, unless supported by the testimony of the ancients (E).

(C) A small mistake; *Bower* quoting here Epiph. L. 27. for Epiph. Hæc. 27. Every one knows that Epiphanius's work does not consist of 80 books, but of 80 heresies. Petavius's edition, which *Bower* used, if he used any, divides the work only into three books.

(D) *Bower* who translates this literally, is not so candid as *Tillemont*, who does not pretend to have consulted Trithemius on the occasion, but refers us to Baronius. The authority of Baronius would not go down with our historian, and, therefore by omitting the reference, he gives his readers room to believe, that he had consulted Trithemius himself. But he is desired, in his next edition, to cite the particular work of Trithemius—in other words, John de Trettenheim, a monk of the 15th century, who wrote about 50 different treatises.

(E) Mr. *Bower*, in his preface, speaking of Anastatius the library keeper, says of him,---*I have paid no manner of regard to an author, who has been hitherto blindly followed by those, who have wrote on the same subj.* A, p. 4. How could the historian say this, since we see that Anastatius, far from being *blindly followed* by *Tillemont*, is given up by him as an author unworthy of regard? a judgment which Mr. *Bower* appears to be well acquainted with, as he is pleased to translate it into English, and adopt it for his own.

Clément de Rome, second évêque de Rome.

ANACLET, qui succéda à S. Lin, est tout-  
jours nommé Anaclet par les Grecs,  
c'est à dire, irrépréhensible, *ib.* 167. Bol-  
landus dit que depuis le 10<sup>me</sup> siècle tout le  
monde distingue Clément & Anaclet comme deux  
Papes différens. Not. ad p. 598. Le mar-  
tyrologe Romain met S. Clément le 26 d'Avril  
& S. Anaclet le 12, ou le 13 de Juillet.

Cette distinction est absolument contraire  
à ceux qui sont les plus croyables en ceci, sa-  
voir S. Irénée, Eusèbe, & S. Jérôme (a),  
auxquels il faut encore joindre Caius prêtre  
de Rome même au commencement du 3<sup>me</sup>  
siècle (b), puisqu'il conte Victor pour le  
13<sup>me</sup> évêque de Rome depuis S. Pierre.

Cette distinction au lieu d'éclaircir l'histoire,  
elle ne fait que l'embrouiller, & pour l'auto-  
rité, Baronius (c), qui la suit, n'allègue rien  
que le poème contre Marcion attribué à  
Tertullien, le pontifical d'Anastase, & mar-  
tyrologes (d). On ne sait point de qui est  
le poème contre Marcion, mais on sait qu'il  
n'est pas de Tertullien : & il ne s'accorde  
point même avec Baronius, puisqu'il met  
Clément & Anaclet tout de suite avant S. Clé-  
ment. Baronius rejette souvent le pontifical  
d'Anastase, comme plein de fautes, particu-  
lièrement dans les premiers Papes : et (e) il  
montre fort bien, que sur cet endroit même  
il n'y a rien de plus embrouillé que tout la  
chronologie de cet auteur, *ib.* p. 597.

Pour ce qui est des martyrologes, par les-  
quels Baronius prétend autoriser la distinction

a] Pearf.  
post. 147,  
148

b] Eus. l.  
5, c. 28, p.  
195

c] Bar. 69,  
§ 39

d] Hall, v.  
lren. p. 646

e] Bar. 69,  
§ 37



*Cletus or Anacletus, second bishop of Rome.*

**L**INUS was succeeded by Cletus or Anacletus, whom the Greeks constantly stile Anacletus. An opinion has long obtained in the church of Rome, distinguishing Cletus and Anacletus as two Popes, nay, as two saints; the festival of the one being kept on the 26th of April, and that of the other on the 23d of July (a). But this distinction is given up by most learned men of that church, not only as groundless, but as contradicting the most celebrated writers of antiquity, Irenæus, Eusebius and St. Jerom, to whom we may add Caius, a priest of Rome, who, writing in the beginning of the third century, reckoned Victor the thirteenth bishop of that city. Baronius, however spares no pains to keep up that distinction; but acknowledges nothing to countenance it, except the poem against Marcion ascribed to Tertullian, the pontifical of Anastasius, and some martyrologies (b). Who was the author of that poem is not well known, but all agree that it was not written by Tertullian (c). Besides the author, whoever he was, places both Cletus and Anacletus before Clement; which Baronius condemns as a gross mistake. As for the pontifical, the annalist often finds fault with it (F), and complains, in this very place, that Anastasius's chronology is overcast with an impenetrable mist (e). The martyrologies he quotes are of too modern date to deserve a regard, since none of them

(a) Martyr-  
ol. Roman.(b) Euseb. l.  
c. 28.  
Pearson  
posthum. p.  
147, 148(c) Bar. ad  
an. 69(d) Halloix  
in vit. Iren.  
p. 646(e) Bar. ad  
ann. 69

(F) We find here Bower owning that Baronius often finds fault with Anastasius. Let him reconcile this, if he can, with the assertion in his preface, taken notice of in the last note.

[f] Boll.  
pont. p. 217,  
b, c, p. 219.  
e. 2009. basl

de Clet & d'Anacle, Bollandus (f), avoue qu'ils sont tous nouveaux : & je ne say si l'on en pourroit trouver aucun qui la favorise avant le 9<sup>me</sup> siècle. Ib. 598.

S. Irénée suivi de tous le Grecs, & même de S. Jérôme & de Rufine entre les Latins, met, comme nous avons dit, S. Anacle avant S. Clément, au lieu que S. Augustin & S. Optat le mettent après. — Cette diversité jointe à ce que S. Anacle est nommé Clet dans S. Epiphane, & dans quelques éditions de Rufine, est peut-être ce qui a donné lieu d'en faire deux Papes. Ib. 597.

L'Eglise l'honore entre les martyrs dans le canon de la messe. Ainsi il faut croire qu'il a mérité ce titre ; mais seulement de la même manière que S. Lin. On trouve encore dans des pontificaux (g), qu'il est mort en paix :

[g] Pearl.  
post. p. 19

ce qui selon l'usage ordinaire marque une mort naturelle, & non violente, p. 167. Bollandus s'est enfin cru obligé, ou de ne se rendre, ou au moins de ne se pas opposer au sentiment de ceux qui soutiennent que Clet est le même qu'Anacle. Mais (h) il se forme sur cela un sentiment assez nouveau, qui est que S. Anacle a cédé le pontificat à S. Clément, & que S. Clément le lui a cédé à son tour, & sur ces deux cessions il batit une longue histoire. Nous nous contentons avec joie de savoir ce qu'il a plu à dieu de nous apprendre par des auteurs dignes de foi ; & nous ne voyons rien à gagner à toutes ses conjectures sans fondement. Ainsi sans examiner cette nouvelle opinion, il nous suffit d'y remarquer, &c. Ib. 599.

[h] Boll.  
p. 217, 220

were heard of before the ninth century (*f*). But, now, says Baronius, was the distinction first introduced? we may perhaps account for it thus: Irenæus, with all the Greeks, and St. Jerom, among the Latins, place Anacletus, as we have observed above, before Clement; whereas St. Austin and Optatus Milevitanus place him after. This, and his being called Cletus by Epiphanius, and in several copies of Rufinus, might induce some to imagine, that as the names and places were different, so were the persons. Thus, as we conjecture, of one Pope two Popes were made, *two sain's, and two martyrs*; for, in the canon of the mass, he has a place with Linus among the martyrs; tho' neither was acknowledged for such by Irenæus, or any of the ancients; nay Anacletus is said, in some pontificals, to have died in peace, that is, according to the phrase of those days, of a natural death (*g*). Bollandus, after having much laboured, but laboured in vain, to maintain the distinction between Cletus and Anacletus, yields at last and gives up the point. But, yet, unwilling to make the least alteration in the catalogue of the Popes, which places with the approbation of the holy See, Clement between Cletus and Anacletus, he strives to save it with a pretty extraordinary invention; for he pretends Anacletus or Cletus to have resigned the chair to Clement, and Clement in his turn to have yielded it to him again. Thus according to him (*h*), tho' Cletus and Anacletus are one and the same person, yet no fault is to be found with the catalogue, and Clement is rightly placed both after and before him. This is a speculation of his own, altogether groundless, and therefore not worthy of a place here, were it

(f) Bolland. Pont. p. 217

(g) Pearl. posthum. p. 19

(h) Bolland. Pont. p. 217



Il gouverna (i) douze ans, selon Eusebe :  
à quoi d'autres ajoutent quelques mois, les  
uns plus, les autres moins ; ainsi il est mort  
l'an 91. — On (k) écrit qu'il a été enterré  
au Vatican auprès de S. Pierre, & l'on croit  
avoir encore aujourd'hui son corps, au Vati-  
can, dans l'église de cet apôtre. — Non  
seulement on a trois décrétales sous le nom de S. Cél-  
estin, (l) toutes les personnes habiles conviennent  
aujourd'hui, que les autres décrétales anté-  
rieures au Pape jusques à Sirice, qui nous  
viennent de la collection d'Isidorus Mercator,  
sont toutes fausses, & supposées, p. 106.

[1] Bona,  
lit. l. 1, c.  
3, p. 12, 13  
Alex. t. 2,  
p. 743-769

CE (a) qui peut véritablement entrer dans  
son loge, c'est que S. Paul, écrivant

Chry-  
sostom-  
e, l. 1, c. 1,  
p. 106

Il est évident que l'auteur de ces décrétales n'est pas S. Cél-  
estin, mais un autre, qui a voulu se faire passer pour lui.  
C'est ce que l'on voit par la comparaison de ces décrétales  
avec celles de S. Cél-estin, qui sont toutes différentes.  
C'est aussi ce que l'on voit par la comparaison de ces  
décrétales avec celles de S. Sirice, qui sont toutes  
différentes. C'est encore ce que l'on voit par la  
comparaison de ces décrétales avec celles de S. Gélase,  
qui sont toutes différentes. C'est enfin ce que l'on  
voit par la comparaison de ces décrétales avec celles  
de S. Innocent, qui sont toutes différentes.

not to shew what low shifts and subterfuges even men of parts, in the church of Rome, choose to submit to, rather than to yield to reason in points that seem to derogate from the authority of that See (G). Anacletus governed the church twelve years, according to Eusebius (i) to which some add two months, some three, and some only one: so that he must have died in the year 91. He is supposed to have been buried next to St. Peter, in the Vatican, where his supposed body is shewn and worshipped to this day (k). We find in the collection of Isidorus Mercator, three decretals, under the name of Cletus: but such decretals as are anterior to the pontificate of Pope Symlicus, who was elected in the year 384, are now universally looked upon as barefaced forgeries (l).

*Clement third bishop of Rome.*

Clement, the successor of Anacletus, is according to Origen (a), Eusebius (b). On the occasion of this sarcastical remark, it may be necessary just to observe, that as Tillemont a Papist, and several other learned men of that communion cited by him, such as father Halloix, Mr. Valois, L. Dexter, father Alexander, Mr. Du Pin, and Mr. Fleuri, do reject the distinction of Cletus and Anacletus into two Popes; and as Tillemont also treats Bollandus's invention with so great contempt, a candid and sincere Protestant, who would avoid the charges of hurting his own cause by misrepresenting that of his enemies, would not, upon the present occasion, have complained of the low shifts and subterfuges of men of parts in the church of Rome. Such instances of Mr. Bower's Protestant zeal, as the above reflexion, are frequent in his book, and are a sufficient confirmation of the assertion in my former pamphlet, that tho' the history of the Popes be written with all the seeming inclination to expose Popery, the author hath often mistaken his instances by not knowing the proper place of finding fault, p. 53. Unnecessary and unfair invective against Popery, far from injuring that cause, must do it service, and, in this view our Protestant historian, may be looked upon as the enemy of Protestants.

(i) Euseb. I.  
3. 8. 15

(k) Bolland.  
26 April, p.  
410, 411

(l) Card.  
Bon. liturg.  
l. 1, c. 3. &  
Nat. Alex.  
and. hist.  
Eccles. p.  
743. doc.  
(a) Origen.  
in Jo. p.  
143

d] Phil. aux Philippiens (f), met son Clément l'autre  
 v. 3 ceux dont les noms étoient écrits au livre de la  
 vie, & qui avoient travaillé avec lui pour  
 e] Ori. in l'évangile. Car Origène (e), Eusèbe (f), & d'  
 jo. 8. p. plusieurs autres anciens, marquent comme  
 143, a une chose sans difficulté que cela s'entend dolo  
 d] Euf. 1.3. S. Clément Pape. — Saint Chrysostom (v) seroit  
 c. 15, p. 87. Tim. pr. P. qu'il étoit un des compagnons ordinaires des  
 403, voyages & des travaux de cet apôtre, com  
 me S. Luc, & S. Timothée. Irénée même  
 assure au moins qu'il a vu les apôtres, qu'il  
 a conversé avec eux, que lorsqu'il fut fait évê  
 que de Rome, il entendoit encore, & il sif  
 faut ainsi dire, retentir à ses oreilles le bruit  
 de leurs prédications, & qu'il avoit toujours  
 devant les yeux les règles qu'ils lui avoient  
 données, & l'exemple de leur conduite. (f) A  
 3. c. 3. p. Origène (g) l'appelle disciple des apôtres. Il  
 232, d. Rufine (h) ajoute, & presque apôtre. & S.  
 g] OH. Clément (i) d'Alexandrie lui donne même le  
 princ. t. 2, titre d'apôtre — p. 163. Nous nous bornons  
 c. 3. p. 591. même nous assurer beaucoup de ce que dit  
 b] Ruf. ad S. Eucher (k) qu'il étoit sorti d'une ancienne  
 ori. p. 166. ne famille de sénateurs, & parent des Césars,  
 a] Cl. m. & qu'il s'étoit rempli de toutes sortes de  
 4. p. 516 a sciences, & d'une grande connoissance des  
 A] Euf. ad Val. p. 19



(b) and all the ancients, the person whom St. Paul, in his epistle to the Philippians (c), names among those who had laboured with him in the gospel, and whose names were in the book of life. Hence Chrysostom concludes, that, together with St. Luke and Timothy, he attended the apostle of the Gentiles in all his journeys (d). Irenæus assures us, that he had not only seen the apostles, and conversed with them, but that when he was appointed bishop of Rome, he still heard their voices sounding in his ears, still had before his eyes the rules and good example they had given him (e). Origen styles him the disciple of the apostles (f); Rufinus, almost an apostle (g); and Clement of Alexandria, an apostle (h). That he was well versed in every branch of learning, especially in literature, descended of a senatorian family, and nearly related to the Cæsars, is what we read in Eucherius (i) and Nilus, (k) who seem to have followed therein the Recognitions, a book of no authority. Eu-

(H) Mr. Bower cites the 13th homily upon the Philippians, as the place where Chrysostom says that Clement attended St. Paul in all his journeys with St. Luke and St. Timothy; but no such thing occurs in that homily. It is no wonder that our English historian, who contented himself with transcribing Tillemont, should not trouble himself with examining his citations; but it is real matter of wonder that, in transcribing him, he should be so careless as to commit the grossest blunders. For Tillemont cites the right place, viz. the preface to the homily upon the first epistle of Timothy, where Chrysostom asserts this. But Mr. Bower was in a hurry, and finding on the margin of his Tillemont, Chrysostom in Phil. Hom. 13, quoted in the same paragraph, for another purpose, as appears from my specimen; he hath, unfortunately set this citation down, at the bottom of his page, in support of a fact quite foreign, and to remain a lasting monument of the exactness with which he hath compiled his history of the Popes.

cherius



cherius perhaps confounded; as others have done, Pope Clement with Flavius Clemens, who was son to Flavius Sabinus, the only brother of Vespasian, and suffered death for the christian religion in the persecution of Domitian (l); for Pope Clement was, as himself seems to intimate, rather of the race of Jacob than of the Cæsars (m). Upon the death of Anacletus he was unanimously chosen by the people and clergy of Rome to succeed him. He had been named, say some, to that dignity by St. Peter himself, preferably to Linus and Anacletus (n); but had declined it, finding that the faithful were not all equally disposed to submit to the judgment and authority of St. Peter. He therefore withdrew; and as he was of a mild and pacific disposition, led a retired life to the death of Anacletus, when (I) Had Mr. Bower contented himself with what he found in the text of *Tillemont* about Flavius Clemens, without adding the particulars which are put in *Italica*, he would have avoided some very striking instances of want of exactness, and of want of erudition. — First then he quotes the 65th book of Dion; whereas if he had ever looked into that historian, he would have found the passage in L. 67. But neither doth Dio, there, nor Suetonius, in the 15th chapter of his Domitian, the place referred to, mention any thing of Flavius Clemens, being the son of Flavius Sabinus. What Dion Cassius says, is as follows, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἰταφάβιον Κλημεντα ὑπάτιοντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐρα --- κατὰ Φαβίον δὲ Δομιτιανὸς. συνέχθη δὲ --- ὑπολήμα ἀβιόητος. ἰφ' ὅς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πῶς ἐξοκλήσαντες πολλοὶ κατεδικασθῶσαν, D. 67. p. 766. Suetonius's words are, 'Flavium Clementem patruelem suum, contemptissimæ inertie --- interemit.'

But, secondly, we find Origen in Cels. l. 1. p. 5. cited for the same purposes that Dion and Suetonius are. I would advise our historian never, for the future, to follow that guide, whoever he was, upon whose authority he put Origen upon his margin here. For neither the name of Flavius Clemens, nor of Flavius Sabinus, nor Domitian, is so much as mentioned in any part of the 1st book of the Origen against Celsus, nor, indeed, if I can depend upon a very good index, in any other part of that work. he

l) Dio, l. 65. Suet. in Dom. c. 15. Orig. in Cels. l. 1. p. 5. (I) m) Clem. ep. 1, c. 4.

n) Epiph. hær. 27, c. 6.



## TILLEMONT.

he was forced to accept of the dignity, which  
 avoir été fait évêque de Rome par S. Pierre,  
 il refusa d'exercer cet charge, jusqu'à ce qu'  
 après la mort de S. Lin & de S. Anaclel il  
 fut contraint de le faire, p. 164, 165. Dans  
 le temps de son pontificat, il arriva une di-  
 vision considérable entre les chrétiens de Co-  
 rinthe. — Ce malheur funeste — les obligea  
 de demander secours aux autres églises. Ils  
 s'adressèrent à l'église Romaine; — l'église de  
 Rome leur répondit enfin par cette grande &  
 admirable lettre que les pères ont appelée (p)  
 très-puissante & très-utile (p); qui est si re-  
 que universellement de tout le monde (p);  
 qui se lisoit publiquement (r), non seulement  
 à Corinthe, comme nous le voyons par S.  
 Denys évêque de cette ville, vers 180; mais  
 encore en beaucoup d'autres églises jusqu'au  
 tems d'Eusèbe (s), & de S. Jérôme (t), &  
 que quelques uns ont même voulu mettre au  
 rang des écritures canoniques (u), p. 168,  
 169.

q] Iren. l.  
 3, 3, p. 232,

p] Hier. v.  
 ill. c. 15

r] Euf. l.  
 3, c. 38, p.  
 110, a

s] Euf. l.  
 4, c. 23, p.  
 145, b

t] Euf. l. 3,  
 c. 16, p.  
 88

u] Hier. v.  
 ill. c. 15, p.  
 272, d

v] Clem.  
 n. p. 81, b,  
 c (K)

(K) I have set down exactly, in the margin of this  
 page, every authority that I find on *Tillemont's* margin, by  
 comparing which with *Bower's* citations on the oppo-  
 site column, it will appear how carelessly those re-  
 tained by him, have been put down. Under the let-  
 ter (p) he quotes Iren. l. 3. c. 3. and three places of  
 Euseb. l. 3. 16 and 38, and l. 4: c. 23, as confirming  
 this sentence---that it was by some ranked among the cano-  
 nical books, and by all revered next to them. Now upon  
 turning to the above places of Iren. and Eusebius, it may  
 be seen that no mention is made in them of the canoni-  
 cal books, or of Clement's epistle being ranked among  
 them. *Tillemont* has, as he always does, quoted his  
 authors very accurately, Irenæus for calling the letter  
 very powerful, and Eusebius for saying that it was re-  
 ceived by all the world, and that it was read publicly  
 not only at Corinth in the time of Dionysius, bishop  
 of that city in 180, but even so low as Eusebius him-  
 self; but he knew too much of these authors to quote  
 them for saying that Clement's letter was ranked among  
 the

he was forced to accept of the dignity, which he had before declined. Thus Rufinus, upon the authority of the Recognitions, which appears to me, I must own, a very improbable tale. During his pontificate, happened an impious and detestable division, to use his own terms, among the christians of Corinth, which obliged them to have recourse to other churches, especially to that of Rome; and on this occasion was written that famous epistle to the Corinthians, so much magnified by the ancients, and publickly read, not only in the church of Corinth, as Dionysius assures us, who was bishop of that city in 180, but in many other churches, to the time of Eusebius and Jerome (p), and perhaps long after. It was by some ranked among the canonical books of the scripture, and by all revered next to them (p). It was written the canonical books; this he mentions on the authority of Coclerius, in his notes on the epistle. *Clem. n. p. 81.* b. c. a reference which Bower did not understand, I suppose, and therefore omitted, substituting Irenæus and Eusebius in its room.

(K) I have set down exactly, in the margin of this page, every authority that I find on Williams's margin, by comparing which with Bower's citations on the opposite column, it will appear how carelessly those retained by him, have been put down. Under the letter (p) he quotes Item 1. c. 3. and three places of Irenæus, 1. 3. 10 and 33, and 1. 4. c. 23, as containing this sentence--that it was by some ranked among the canonical books and by all revered next to them. Now upon turning to the above places of Irenæus and Eusebius, it may be seen that no mention is made in them of the canonical books, or of Clement's epistle being ranked among them. Williams has, as he always does, quoted his authors very accurately, Irenæus for calling the letter very powerful, and Eusebius for saying that it was received by all the world, and that it was read publickly not only at Corinth in the time of Dionysius, bishop of that city in 180, but even so low as Eusebius himself; but he knew too much of these authors to quote them for saying that Clement's letter was ranked among the

o) Euseb. l. 3, c. 16.  
Hier. Vir. ill. c. 15.  
p) Iren. 1. 3, c. 3, Euf. l. 3, c. 16.  
38, & l. 4, c. 23.

Nous avons toujours parlé de cette lettre comme étant de l'église Romaine, au nom de laquelle elle est écrite : — aussi Irénée la lui attribue formellement, & S. Clément d'Alexandrie † citant quelques paroles, dit qu'elles sont tirées de l'épître des Romains aux Corinthiens. — Ce fut lui néanmoins qui la composa au nom de son église — parceque dans ces tems apostoliques les évêques ne faisoient rien qu'avec la participation, & l'union de leurs églises, p. 172. Cette lettre passe pour un des plus beaux monuments qu'ait l'église après l'écriture sainte. Il y paroît beaucoup de force & d'onction. — Le stile en est clair, sans aucun ornement étrangere, & approche de cette simplicité que l'église demande des écrivains ecclésiastiques, dit Photius (s). Elle a un très grand rapport avec le caractère de l'épître aux Hebreux (t). On y trouve souvent les mêmes sens, & quelque-fois les mêmes parole. C'est (u) cette conformité qui a fait croire à plusieurs, que S. Clément étoit le traducteur de l'épître aux Hebreux. D'autres mêmes l'en font auteur (w). Photius reprend trois choses dans cette épître aux Corinthiens ; l'une que S. Clément suppose de certains mondes au delà de l'ocean ; l'autre de ce qu'il se sert de la comparaison du Phoenix, comme d'une chose très véritable ;

• Irén. l. 3.  
c. 3

† Clem.  
strom. 5. p.  
586, b

s] Phot. c.  
126, p. 305

t] Euf. l. 3.  
c. 38, p. 140,  
a, b

u] Hier. v. ill.  
c. 15

w] Euf. p.  
110.

v] Euf. l.  
6, c. 25, p.  
227, d (L)

(L) The reader by casting his eye upon the citations on *Tillemont's* margin here, will observe that the authority of Eusebius, singly, is brought to prove that some concluded Clement to have been the translator, nay, and the author of that epistle. Whereas, by looking to the opposite column of *Bower's* citations, we find him adding St. Jerom as another authority for the same point. But, Jerom, in the place referred to, by our accurate historian, is silent as to this ; and says no more than what *Tillemont* quotes him for, that there is a great resemblance between this epistle and that to the Hebrews, both as to the sense and to the words.



in the name of the whole church of Rome, and to the whole church it is, in express terms, ascribed by Irenæus (q), and Clement of Alexandria, who calls it the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians (r). However, it was composed by Clement, in the name of the church; for, in the primitive times, bishops did nothing by themselves, but every thing jointly with their churches: *We advise, we exhort, we recommend, &c. was their usual stile; which the Popes still observe, though they mean only themselves; for they scorn to join either with the people or clergy.* The stile of this excellent letter is plain, clear, full of energy, without any useless ornaments; and the whole written with the simplicity, as Photinus (s) observes, that the church requires in ecclesiastical writers. There is so great an affinity both as to the sense and the words, between this epistle and the epistle to the Hebrews, that some have concluded Clement to have been the translator, nay, and the author of that epistle (t). In Clement's epistle, Photinus discovers, as he thinks, three faults, viz. that he supposes other worlds beyond the ocean; that he speaks of the Phoenix as a real bird; and that he uses words expressing

q) Iren. lib.

r) Clem. Strom. 5.

s) Photinus, c. 126.

t) Euseb. l. 3. c. 38, &amp; l. 6, c. 25. Hier. Vir. ill. c. 15.

Phoenix, comme d'une chose très véritable; (I) The reader by casting his eye upon the citations on Tillamont's margin here, will observe that the authority of Eusebius, which is brought to prove that some concluded Clement to have been the translator, nay, and the author of that epistle. Whereas, by looking to the opposite column of Bower's citations, we find him adding St. Jerom as another authority for the same point. But Jerom, in the place referred to, by our accurate historian, is silent as to this; and lays no more than what Tillamont quotes him for, that there is a great resemblance between this epistle and that to the Hebrews, both as to the stile and to the words.

la troisieme de ce qu'il n'emploie que des termes qui marquent l'humanité de Jesus Christ, mais ne disant rien qui marque la sa divinité. La premiere de ces remarques ne nous doit pas donner beaucoup de peine, depuis que nous savons avec assurance ce que les anciens n'avançoient qu'avec incertitude. — Pour ce qui est du Phoenix, si c'est une faute à S. Clément d'en avoir parlé, elle lui est commune avec plusieurs auteurs très considérables, Chrétiens and Païens. — A l'égard du troisieme point, — il y est même parlé des suffrages de Dieu, ce que Photius n'avoit pas apparemment remarqué. — Cette epître, dont nous avons longtems été privée, nous a été donnée in 1633, par Junius, qui dit l'avoir tirée d'un manuscrit apporté d'Egypte en Angleterre, écrit vers le tems du grand concile de Nicée : et la vérité de cette piece se justifie par un grand nombre de passages que les anciens en ont cités.

L'Eveñe.

the humanity of our Saviour and not his divinity. But as to the first of these objections, there can be no difficulty now, that we know for certain what was but doubtfully advanced by the ancients: in speaking of the Phoenix, he complies with the opinion universally received, in those days, by the learned, both among the christians and Pagans. As to the third objection, Photius must not have observed, that he styles our Saviour's sufferings the sufferings of God, which was acknowledging his divinity. This epistle, the most precious and valuable treasure the church can boast, after the holy scriptures, was for many ages bewailed as lost; but, in 1633, it was again restored to the christian world, by *Patricius Junius*, a *North Briton* (M), who published it from a manuscript, written by an Egyptian lady, named *Thecla*, about the time of the great council of Nice, and afterwards brought over into England (u). <sup>a) Not. Jan. p. 3. Not. Cotel. p. 8, (N)</sup> That this piece is genuine, appears from a great many passages quoted out of it by the ancients.

## The

(M) The addition of Junius's christian name, and of his country; and the insertion of the name of Thecla the Egyptian lady, are wonderful improvements upon the text of *Tillemont*. Mr. Bower's brother historian Bruys had done the same before *Cette*; *belle piece* (says he) *étoit devenue si rare, qu'on la croioit perdue, mais on la vit heureusement paroître en Angleterre en 1633, par les soins de Patricius Junius, Ecollois, qui la publia sur un manuscrit, de la bibliothèque de roi d'Angleterre lequel on attribue à une dame d'Egypte nommée Thecla, qui l'écrivit, dit on, vers le temps du concile de Nicée.* Bruys *histoire des Papes*, t. 1: p. 23, 24.

(N) Bower here quotes Junius's notes, p. 3. and Cotelier's notes, p. 8. (it should have been 81), in support of this part of his text. But neither of these authors, in the places referred to, say any thing to his purpose. He transcribed them, indeed, from the margin



L'Evénement le plus remarquable du pontificat de S. Clément est la persécution que Domitian excita contre les Chrétiens. Mais nous n'en parlons pas ici, parce que nous ne trouvons point dans aucun auteur digne foi ni quelle part ce saint Pape y peut avoir eue. H. Eusebe (w) met la mort de S. Clément en la troisième année de Trajan, c'est-à-dire en l'an 100. de Jesus Christ. Eusebe & S. Jérôme parlent de sa mort sans en rien dire de particulier, & S. Irénée, faisant le sommaire des Papes jusqu'à Eusebe, ne dit point qu'aucun d'eux ait été martyr. S. S. S. Téléphore. Néanmoins Rufin (a) donne ce titre à saint Clément, & le Pape Zozime (y) dit qu'il avoit fait un grand progrès, qu'enfin il avoit espasné par le martyre la foi qu'il avoit apprise de S. Pierre. Ainsi nous ne pouvons douter qu'il n'ait mérité le titre de martyr, & que l'Eglise n'ait raison de le mettre dans le sacre canon de la messe avec les martyrs, aussi bien que S. Lin, & S. Anacle. Mais l'autorité d'Irénée fait, que nous n'oserions plus nous plus assurer de lui, qu'il ait consommé sa vie par le martyre.

Nous avons une histoire ancienne, qui porte que Trajan le bannit dans la Chersonese au delà du pont Euxin, qu'il y fit naître une fontaine par ses prières, & qu'après qu'il y eut demeuré au moins un an, durant lequel il convertit tout le pays, Trajan y envoya un officier, par l'ordre duquel il fut noyé dans la mer avec une ancre attachée au cou; que la mer se retira ensuite jusqu'au

gin of his Tillemont, where they were placed in confirmation of a sentence which he hath not moulded with,

and which is as follows, Ou \* parle d'une tradition, qu'on dit en avoir été faite par S. Jérôme, ou † plus pro-

• N. I. P. † N. Co-  
telr. p. 83. a. bablement par Rufin.

lieu

The most remarkable event that happened in the pontificate of Clement, was the persecution of Domitian; but what part he bore in it we can learn from no credible author. He died, according to Eusebius (w), in the third year of Trajan's reign, that is, in the 100th of the christian era. In the canon of the mass he has a place, with his two Predecessors, among the martyrs; but Telephorus, the sixth bishop of Rome, is the first, as I have observed above, who was acknowledged as such by Irenæus, whose authority is of greater weight than that of Rufinus, or Pope Zosimus, who suppose Clement (O) to have died for the confession of the faith (x). In the acts of Clement, to which Gregory of Tours gave an entire credit (y), and after him many others, especially the two credulous annalists, Baromius (z), and Alford (a); in his annals of the British church, we read that Clement was banished by Trajan, into the Chersonesus, beyond the Euxine Sea; that there he caused a fountain to spring up miraculously, for the relief of the Christians confined to the same inhospitable region; that he converted the whole country to the faith, which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he ordered him to be thrown into the sea, with an anchor fastened to his neck: it is added, that on the anniversary of his death, the sea re-

(w) Euseb.  
h. 3. c. 34.

(x) Ruf. o.  
rig. t. 1, p.  
778, Concil.  
per Lab. t.  
2, p. 1158.  
(y) Greg.  
Tur. de  
glor. mar-  
tyr. c. 35.

(z) Bar. ad  
ann. 102.  
(a) Alf. ad  
ann. eund.

(O) Bower here joins Rufinus and Zosimus, as saying that Clement died for the confession of the faith; where-as these are Zosimus's words, singly, as Tillemont accurately distinguishes; Rufinus being quoted only, as giving Clement the title of martyr.

lieu où on l'avoit jeté, qui étoit à une grande lieue de la terre; que les Chrétiens, étant allés, trouverent son corps dans un tombeau de pierre sous un temple tout de marbre; que tous les ans la mer se retiroit de même à la fête du Saint, jusqu'au de-là de son tombeau, & ne revenoit dans ses bornes ordinaires qu'au bout de sept jours. S. Grégoire (b) de Tours rapporte une partie de ces choses, & les cite des actes de S. Clément. Il ajoute (c) qu'une mère qui avoit amené son enfant avec elle au tombeau du Saint, l'y ayant laissé par mégarde lorsque la mer revint, elle le retrouva vivant l'année d'après. Nous souhaiterions que toutes ces choses fussent aussi assurées qu'elles sont célèbres, p. 172, 173, 174.

On peut ajouter à cela, qu'étant visible que S. Irénée, Eusèbe & S. Jérôme, n'ont point su que S. Clément ait été martyr, il faut ou qu'il ne soit pas mort par le martyre, ou qu'au moins son martyre ait été peu célèbre & peu connu. Et néanmoins, si ce que disent ses actes est véritable, je ne vois rien qui doive avoir été plus illustre dans l'Eglise; & je ne fais pas comment S. Irénée, élevé dans l'Asie sous Polycarpe, qui étoit évêque des tems que S. Clément mourut, l'a pu ignorer. Note ad p. 174. 667.

Outre la célèbre Epître aux Corinthiens, on a attribué plusieurs autres écrits à S. Clément. Nous avons un grand fragment d'une lettre qu'on croit avoir été aussi écrite aux Corinthiens. Cette lettre est fort ancienne: mais Eusèbe (d) semble douter qu'elle soit de S. Clément p. 173. S. Jérôme (e) même dit positivement que les anciens la rejettoient, & Photius (f) prétend seulement qu'elle est supposée. Notes ad p. 175. p. 609. Nous avons encore cinq autres lettres sous le nom de S. Clément, qui sont du nombre

a) Eus. l. 3.  
c. 38, p. 110.

b, c.

d) Hier. V.

Ill. c. 15.

e) Phot. c.

113, p. 289.

f.



tired to the place where he had been drowned, though three long miles from the shore; that, upon its retiring, there appeared a most magnificent temple, all of the finest marble; and in the temple a stately monument, in which was found the body of the saint; that the sea continued thus retiring every year on the same day, not daring, for the space of seven days to return to its usual bounds, that the Christians might at their leisure, and without the apprehension of danger perform their devotions in honour of the saint: to crown the whole they add, that, one year, a mother having heedlessly left her young child in the temple, upon her return, next year, she found it not only alive, but in perfect health (b). No mention is made of such stupendous miracles by Irenæus, who was brought up under Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, in Asia, at the very time Clement is supposed to have suffered, and who speaks of him at length. His silence is a plain demonstration, that they were unknown to him; and they must have been known had they been true.

b) Greg.  
Tur. ib

Besides the letter to the Corinthians, of which I have spoken above, several other places are ascribed to Clement, viz. a second letter to the Corinthians; which is, without all doubt, very ancient; but Eusebius doubts whether it was written by Clement (c), and both St. Jerom (d) and Photius absolutely reject it. Five other letters placed among the decretals, whereof the first more ancient than the rest, was translated by Rufinus, and is quoted by the council of Vaison, held in 442 (f). However it is generally looked upon as a spurious piece; for the author of it, whoever he was, acquaints St. James bi-

c) Euseb. l.

3, c. 38

d) Hier.

Vir. ill. c.

15

e) Phot. c.

113

f) Conc. l.

3, p. 1458

bre des décrétales. C'est pourquoi il n'est pas nécessaire d'en parler, si non de la première qui est beaucoup plus ancienne & plus célèbre que les autres. Car Rufin l'a connue — & l'a même traduite en Latin. Elle est citée aussi par le concile de Vaison en 440. (f). Cependant, elle manded la mort de St Pierre à St. Jacques évêque de Jérusalem, qui étoit mort plusieurs années avant St. Pierre. C'est pourquoi les cardinaux Baronius, Bellarmine, &c. l'abandonnent absolument (g). L'Itineraire de St. Clément — selon Rufin — dut servir de préface au livre des Recongnitions, à la tête desquelles elle se mettoit du tems de Photius (h). — Pour les Recongnitions, c'est un ouvrage où l'on rapporte sous le nom de St. Clément, les actions de St. Pierre, ses entretiens avec Simon le magicien, & comment St. Clément même reconnut son père & ses frères, ce qui lui a fait donner le nom de Recongnitions, ou reconnoissances. On l'appelle aussi les voyages, ou l'itineraire de St. Pierre, & les actes de St. Pierre, ou de St. Clément (i). Origene (k), St. Epiphane (l), and Rufin (m), ont cru que le livre des Recongnitions venoit effectivement de St. Clément ; mais que les hérétiques l'avoient corrompu, & y avoient mêlé diverses erreurs. St. Epiphane dit que les Ebionites qui l'enservoient, n'y avoient presque rien laissé d'entier. — Cet ouvrage a été composé par un auteur habile dans la philosophie & les sciences humaines, mais peu instruit dans la théologie & la doctrine de l'Eglise. — Il a été rejeté par saint Athanasie (n), & généralement par tout le monde. Si cet écrit est le même que la dispute de St. Pierre avec Apion, il n'a apparemment été composé que dans le 3<sup>me</sup> siècle. Car Eusèbe dit, que l'on produi-

soit

f) Conc.  
L. t. 3. p.  
1458, a, b.

g) Blond.  
Decr. p. 28.

h) Phot. c.  
113. p. 229,  
b.

i) Cotelr.  
ap. n. p.  
343, b, c.  
k) Id. p.  
390.

l) Epi. hæ.  
30, c. 15.  
p. 139, b, c.  
m) Ruf. ad  
Ori. p. 195,  
a.

n) Ath.  
Sym. p. 154.

shop of Jerusalem, who died long before St. Peter, with St. Peter's death (g). Clement's itinerary, which in Photius's time, was prefixed, by way of preface, to the Recognitions (h). The Recognitions, relating, under the name of Clement, the acts of St. Peter, his interview with Simon the magician, how Clement himself knew again his father and brothers, whom he had forgot; whence the whole work took the name of Recognitions, that is, of knowing again: it is likewise called the Itinerary of St. Peter, the Acts of St. Peter, the Acts of St. Clement (i). The Recognitions are quoted by Origen (k), Epiphanius (l), and Rufinus (m), as the work of Clement; but these writers, at the same time, own them to have been altered in several places, and falsified by the heretics; nay, Epiphanius tells us, that the Ebionites scarce left any thing sound in them (n). The author was well versed in philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and most other sciences, but not so well acquainted with the doctrine of the church; whence his work is absolutely rejected by Athanasius (o); and now generally looked upon as a piece falsely ascribed to Clement. St. Peter's dialogues with Apion were probably written in the third century, and, to gain credit, fathered upon Clement; for Eusebius writes, that

g) Blond.  
Decret. p.  
25, 28

h) Phot. c.  
113

i) Cotel. n.  
in scr. apost.  
p. 353

k) Orig.  
philocal. c.  
23, p. 81,  
82

l) Epiph.  
hær. 30. c.

m) Ruf. ad  
Orig. p. 195

n) Epiph.  
hær. 30, p.  
65. (P)

o) Athan.  
Sym. p. 154

(P) Mr. Bower here meant to quote Epiphanius hær. 30. c. 15, where, upon examination, I find this charge brought against the Ebionites. Tillamont puts no reference upon his margin, at this place; and whenever the English historian loses him as a guide, we find him committing the grossest blunders. Instead of p. 65. Bower should have put down p. 139; it being demonstrable, as we shall see in the next note but one, that Bower's and Tillamont's edition of Epiphanius is the same—that of Petavius.



soit depuis peu, de fort long ouvrages sous le nom de S. Clément, qui contenoient des dialogues de S. Pierre & d'Apion (p).

p) Euf. l.  
3. c. 38, p.  
110, c.

Un autre ouvrage qui porte aussi le nom de S. Clément, est celui des constitutions apostoliques. On ne fait pas bien, si c'est celui que quelques anciens ont appelé la doctrine des apôtres, dont il est parlé dans S. Athanasie & dans Eusèbe. Si ce sont deux ouvrages différens—S. Epiphane est le premier qui ait parlé des constitutions. On tire (q), au moins de S. Denys d'Alexandrie qu'elles n'étoient point encore faites en 250, ou qu'elles n'avoient aucune autorité dans l'église. S. Epiphane (r) témoigne, que beaucoup en doutoient. Pour lui, il les recoit comme bonnes, & soutient qu'on n'y trouve rien de contraire à la créance & à la discipline de l'église. Mais il en cite des passages qui ne s'y trouvent point aujourd'hui—ce qui fait juger que nous n'avons plus ces constitutions en l'état même qu'elles étoient dans le 4<sup>me</sup> siècle, & au commencement du 5<sup>me</sup>. Et aussi les Grecs dans le second canon de leur concile du Dome, en 692, disent qu'elles ont

q) Ign.  
prol. c. 8,  
p. 54.

r) Epi. 70,  
c. 10, p.  
322, a.

In Trullo.

(R) Upon turning to Epiphane's works, nothing can be found about the apostolic constitutions. But the passage referred to, may be seen, as it is rightly cited by Tillemont, in Epiphane's works, c. 10, p. 822. Mr. Beveridge, by quoting the same page, tells us that his Epiphane's and Tillemont's are the same edition. But by citing p. 822, instead of 70, he satisfies us that he had never looked

there had lately appeared a long work, under the name of Clement, containing dialogues between St. Peter and Apion (p). As to the apostolic constitutions, if that work is different from the doctrine of the apostles, mentioned by Athanasius and Eusebius; Epiphanius is the first who speaks of it: it appears, at least, from Dionysius of Alexandria, that in the year 250, the constitutions either had not yet appeared, or were of no repute in the church (q). Epiphanius tells us, that many suspected them; but as for himself, he received them, since he found nothing in them repugnant to the faith or the discipline of the church (r). But as he quotes several passages out of them which are not to be found now, we may well conclude, that, since his time, they have been altered or curtailed.

p) Euseb.  
l. 3. c. 38.

q) Ign.  
Prol. c. 8,  
p. 54. (Q)

r) Epiph.  
hær. 76, p.  
822. (R)

The Greeks indeed, in the second canon of that council, that, in 692, was held at

(Q) Who can, from *Ign. Prol.* discover that the piece here cited is archbishop Usher's prolegomena to Ignatius? We are let into *Tillemont's* meaning in using this abridged manner of citation, by the table of authors prefixed to the volume. But *Bower*, who gives his reader no such table, yet copys this seemingly unintelligible reference, can have no apology to make but that he did not know it's meaning; or was in too great a hurry to make any alteration. What dependance can there be, upon an historian who, tho' professing to be the champion of Protestants knows nothing of Usher and Hammond, but what he gleans in this manner, from the Popish *Tillemont*?

(R) Upon turning to *Epiph. hær. 76*; nothing can be found about the apostolic constitutions. But the passage referred to, may be seen, as it is rightly cited by *Tillemont*, in *Epiph. hær. 70, c. 10. p. 822*. Mr. *Bower*, by quoting the same page, tells us that his Epiphanius and *Tillemont's* are the same edition. But by citing hær. 76. instead of 70, he satisfies us that he had never looked into it.

Con-

été corrompues par des hérétiques. <sup>(v)</sup> Phot.

<sup>v)</sup> Phot. c.  
125. p. 289.

sius (v) qui dit, qu'elles sont sans comparai-  
son au dessous des Reconnaissances pour le style  
& la manière d'écrire, mais plus pures pour  
la doctrine, assure en même tems qu'il est  
fort difficile de les justifier de l'erreur d'A-

<sup>r)</sup> Pearf. in  
Ign. t. 1. p.  
60, 61.

rius. — Un célèbre Protestant (r) croit que  
c'est un recueil de divers écrits que l'on a  
voit composées dès les premiers tems sous le  
nom des apôtres, & qu'on prétendoit conte-  
nir diverses instructions qu'ils avoient don-  
nées. — Mr. de l'Aubépine (s) dit, qu'il y a

<sup>s)</sup> Alb.  
Obser. l. 1.  
c. 3. p. 37,  
38.

des choses excellentes, que tout y est confor-  
me à la discipline observée par l'église Greque  
dans les quatre premiers siècles, mais que  
c'est indubitablement un recueil des diverses  
coutumes qui se sont établies peu à peu dans  
l'église, & dont quelques unes étoient encore  
contestées dans le 4<sup>me</sup> siècle ; de sorte qu'on  
ne peut, sans une grande ignorance, les vou-  
loir attribuer aux apôtres, ni par conséquent à  
S. Clément. — Les constitutions finissent  
par les 85 canons célèbres depuis long tems  
sous le titre de canons des apôtres, mais qui  
contiennent diverses choses qui n'étoient  
point encore reçues du tems des apôtres &  
de S. Clément. On croit que c'est aussi un  
recueil de divers décrets faits dans les pre-  
miers siècles de l'église, — & (w) que ce

<sup>w)</sup> Ign.  
prol. c. 6.  
p. 40.

recueil n'a point été fait avant le 3<sup>me</sup> siècle.

several decrees made in the first years of the  
church, and that they were not collected in-  
to one body till the third century. (w). I  
don't know of any other collection of  
103. (2)

(2) Bower here quotes the 15th chapter and 103d  
Pope of Liber's Prolegomena as mentioning  
that the canon of the apostles were not collected into one  
body till the third century. Tillemont, as may be seen by  
looking on the opposite column, quotes the 6th chapter  
and



Constantinople, in a tower of the imperial palace, called Tullus, that is, the Cupola, declare that they had been falsified in several places by the heretics. Photius thinks that, with respect to the style, they fall short of the Recognitions, but far excel them in the purity of the doctrine, adding, at the same time, that it is no easy task to clear them from the imputation of Arianism (s). Dr. Pearson takes them to be a collection of several pieces, published in the earliest times, under the name of the apostles, and containing, as was pretended, the instructions they had given (t). Albaspinæus thinks the matter they contain excellent, and the whole agreeable to the discipline observed by the Greek church, during the four first centuries; but nevertheless he looks upon them only as a collection of the different customs, that were established by degrees, in the church, and some of which were disputed even in the fourth century (u); so that they can by no means be ascribed either to the apostles, or to Clement. The constitutions end with 85 canons, long known by the title of the canons of the apostles; but, as they contain several things which were not received in the apostles time, nor in Clement's, the ablest critics are of opinion, that they likewise are but a collection of several decrees made in the first ages of the church, and that they were not collected into one body till the third century (w).

[t] Phot.  
c. 113

[t] Pearf. in  
Ign. t. 1, p.  
60, 61

[u] Alb. obser. l. 1, c.  
3. p. 37, 38

[w] Id. ib.  
et Ign. prol.  
c. 15, p.  
103. (S)

(S) Bower here quotes the 15th chapter and 103d Pope of Usher's Prolegomena to Ignatius, as mentioning that the canons of the apostles were not collected into one body till the third century. Tillemont, as may be seen by looking on the opposite column, quotes the 6th chapter and

On ne les trouve point cités avant le concile de Constantinople en 394. Les Grecs se sont obligés à les observer dans le concile du Dome. Les Latins au contraire les ont rejettés sous Gélase : & Denys le Petit n'ayant pas laissé peu de tems après d'en mettre les 50 premiers à la tête de son recueil, ces cinquante ne furent reçues que peu à peu plusieurs siècles après, & on n'a jamais reçu les 35 autres.

and the 40th page, as the place where this is asserted. Upon turning to the work itself, I find *Tillemont's* quotation to be exact; but there is nothing in the other place quoted by *Bower*, that is to the purpose. Where then got he the 15th c. and p. 103. of *Ign. Proli*? from the margin of his *Tillemont*, where it stands very near, but for a very different purpose, viz. to confirm the following sentence, which *Bower* leaves untranslated. *S. Isidore. De Seville prétend même que ce sont des hérétiques qui ont composés tous ces canons & qui les ont attribués aux apôtres.* — I have examined c. 15. p. 103. of the Proleg. and find this judgment of *Isidor* there mentioned. It is plain from this, that *Bower* not only had never seen the primate's treatise, but that he could not even transcribe *Tillemont's* references, without such gross blunders, as ignorance aiming at learning will always commit.

S.

don't find them quoted before the council of Constantinople in 394. The Greeks, in the council of the year 692, mentioned above, bind themselves to the observance of them; but they are all rejected by Pope Gelasius: however, Dionysius Exiguus having, not long after, placed the first fifty at the head of his collection, they were received by degrees; but the other thirty-five have not been admitted to this day\*.

*Upon the whole of the many writings ascribed to Clement, the first letter to the Corinthians is the only one undoubtedly his: and what a wide difference appears as to the spirit and style, between that excellent piece and the briefs, bulls, mandates, &c. of his successors? he does not command, but he exhorts; he does not threaten, but intreats; he does not thunder anathemas and excommunications, but employs the most mild and gentle persuasives, even with the authors of the schism. Had he known himself to be the infallible and unerring judge of controversies, from whose tribunal lay no appeal; had the Corinthians believed themselves bound, on pain of damnation, to submit to his decisions, there had been no room for reasons, arguments, persuasives; he ought to have exerted the power with which he was vested, and put an end to all disputes in the peremptory style of his successors: We declare and command all men to comply with this our declaration, on pain of incurring the indignation of the almighty; and, as if that were not enough, of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul. But it was not till some ages after, that the Popes found out their infallibility, or rather*

\* Mr. Bower by translating Tillemont literally, at this place, where he speaks of the first fifty canons being received, uses the language of a Papist. For Protestants know nothing of any such reception.

*their*



*S. Evariste Pape.*

a) Buch.  
P. 270.

• Euf. l. 3.  
c. 34. P.  
106.

b) Euf. l.  
4. c. 1, p.  
115.

**L**E (a) plus ancien catalogue des Papes, dit, que Saint Evariste, qu'il appelle Ariste, (Note p. pag. 231.) succéda à S. Clément dans le gouvernement de l'Eglise Romaine en la troisième année de Trajan, c'est-à-dire, à la fin de l'an 100 Jesus Christ. Il (b) gouverna près de neuf ans — c'est-à-dire, jusqu'à la 12<sup>me</sup> année de Trajan, qui est le 109 de Jesus Christ, p. 231.

La chronique d'Eusebe met sa mort de l'an 107, au lieu que son histoire la met vers l'an 109. Mais dans toute cette suite des Papes, l'histoire s'accorde ordinairement fort bien, au lieu que la chronique se contrarie assez souvent. Outre que l'histoire, étant pos-

their flattering divines found it out for them; so that this invaluable privilege lying dormant, men were obliged for a long time, to make use of their reason, in deciding religious controversies (T).

*Evaristus, fourth bishop of Rome.*

Clement was succeeded by Evaristus, <sup>a] Buch. p. 270</sup> or Evaristes, or Aristus, as he is called in the most ancient catalogue of the Popes (a). in the third year of Trajan's reign, that is in the close of the first century of the christian era. He governed about nine years, that is, to the twelfth year of Trajan and the 109th of Christ (b). Eusebius in his chronicle, supposes him to have died in the year 107 (c); and, in his history says, that his death happened about the year 109 (d); <sup>b] Euseb. l. 3, c. 34. (U) Euseb. chron. l. 4, c. 2. d] Id. l. 3, c. 34</sup> but, in the series and succession of the Popes, that writer is every where consistent with himself in his history, and quite otherwise in his chronicle. Besides, the history ought to correct the chronicle as being poste-

(T) This reflexion with which Mr. Bower concludes his life of St. Clement, being almost the only thing in it that he can call his own, he ought certainly to have taken care to avoid a gross contradiction which must strike every reader. If we look back but a very few pages, we shall find him saying that the Popes still observe the usual style of the bishops in the primitive times, *we advise, we exhort, we recommend, &c.* And yet here he tells us that the letter of Clement to the Corinthians, differs widely from the style of the Briefs, Bulls, &c. of the modern Popes in this, that *he does not command but he exhorts; he does not threaten but he intreats, &c.*

(U) We find Eusebius b. 3. c. 34. cited, to prove that Evaristus governed about nine years. On the opposite column *Tillemont* quotes b. 4. c. 1. Upon turning to Eusebius I find—*Tillemont* in the right; and the reader may again observe Mr. Bower blundering in transcribing from *Tillemont's* margin, where Euf. l. 3. c. 34. is cited just before, and faithfully cited, to confirm Evaristus's succeeding to Clement in the third year of Trajan.

térieure à la chronique, & doit corriger. N.  
ad p. 23

e) Bar. 121,

§. 2.

f) Id. 112,

§. 4.

g) Id. ibi.

§. 4-6, 7.

On (e) lui attribue deux épîtres décrétales, la (f) distribution des titres ou des paroisses de Rome; ce que Baronius explique fort au long, & (g) l'ordre que l'évêque, quand il prêche, soit toujours accompagné de sept diacres. Mais nous ne voyons en cela rien de fondé, non plus qu'en ce que les pontificaux disent de son père, de son pays, & de ses ordinations: c'est pourquoi nous espérons qu'on nous dispensera de marquer ces sortes de choses dans les autres Papes.

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nor to it. To Evaristus are ascribed two decretals, the distribution of the titles or parishes of Rome, on which Baronius makes a long descant (e), and an order, that bishops, when they preached, should always be attended by seven deacons (f). But these and many other things of the same nature, we read only in Baronius, Platina, Anastasius, Ciaconius, &c. and my design is, as I have declared in the preface, to follow the ancients alone in the history of the ancient Popes; and therefore I shall take no notice of what the moderns advance, unless I find it supported by the authority of the original writers.

(X) See here a remarkable instance of carelessness in copying *Tillemont's* margin. *Tillemont*, as I find upon examination, rightly cites Baronius ad an. 121, for the decretals ascribed to Evaristus. *Bower* cites Baronius for the same purpose ad an. 112, where no such thing is mentioned; being led into this blunder, by seeing the same reference upon the margin of *Tillemont*, as appears from my specimen, where it stands as the year under which *Baronius* mentions those facts, that *Bower*, with his usual exactness, cites *Baronius* as mentioning under the year 121.

THO' I am afraid that I may have tired some of my readers, by the length of my extracts; others, I am apt to think, will be of opinion, that I have taken a more candid as well as a more effectual method of proving my point, than if I had set down only a few select, unconnected passages. For by this means, Mr. *Bower* can have no reason to complain of my concealing from the world, how much of his history is really his own, as I have honestly marked in *Italics* whatever I cannot find in *Tillemont*; the merit of which I am willing to allow to himself. And, by lengthening my specimen, the reader will receive fuller satisfaction, than if I had contented myself with presenting him with a smaller portion of the history. I thought the life of Pope *Bonifacius* a very proper conclusion: for, after having demonstrated that in the lives of the four first Popes, as written by *Bower*, there is very little that can be called his own, and *that* little, nothing else but unmeaning expletive, or injudicious invective; after having shewn that, with all that parade of learning and acquaintance with books to which he pretends, he has not looked into any one of the many authors cited by him, but transcribed the references which croud the bottom of his page, from the margin of *Tillemont*, and in doing of which, he has betrayed the most profound ignorance and gross carelessness; after having received such full satisfaction as to these points, I thought my reader would not be displeased to take his leave of Mr. *Bower*, at a place where he declares, with singular veracity, that he intends to follow the ancients alone, in the history of the ancient Popes, and to take no notice of what the moderns advance, unless he finds it supported by the authority of the original writers.

If the historian, or his friends should think it a little hard to pass a judgment on the whole work, from the specimen given, and deny that the plagiar-

*rise* so shamelessly exercised in the lives of his four first Popes, is carried on in any subsequent part of his history. I shall only observe, that an impartial reader will, unless he can shew the contrary, draw a conclusion, that a book, which sets out with so little merit, does not grow more valuable as it goes on. The beginning of a book, particularly of a large book, passes in review before many readers whom a variety of causes may hinder from giving the whole volume a perusal. So that an author, if in any part of his work he hath exerted abilities, or discovered learning, may be supposed to have taken pains with that part of it, which it is likely will be most examined. He who should set out a *plagiary*, and afterwards deviate, in the course of his book, into an *original writer*, would be as absurd as a tradesman, who, tho' his shop was stocked with goods of the best materials and newest fashion, should produce only such commodities as have been the refuse of other shops, and thumbed by a thousand customers.

But to obviate any pretensions which may be made by Mr. *Bower*, as to the merit of the subsequent parts of his history, I think it necessary here to inform the reader, that, tho' I might be warranted to pass a judgment on the whole book, from the *plagiarism* so conspicuous at the beginning of it, I have not contented myself with comparing him and *Tillemont*, so far as the above specimen goes, but have continued my examination far lower than our historian says he had brought down his work before he left *Rome*; have traced his footsteps through the lives of between thirty and forty Popes, down to the beginning of the *fifth* century; and during all that period, I find him, instead of examining with particular attention the writings of the many pious and learned men who flourished in the first centuries of the church, making the same servile use of *Tillemont*, with which we have seen him set out. So that I do not think myself far wrong, when I



the facts which lie before me I make no doubt that it was principally from such parts of his work that he has taken the materials for his history. I assert that above two-thirds of our Protestant historian's first volume, is a literal and close translation, patched up sometimes from the text and sometimes from the notes of *Tillemont* (A), only inverting the order and connexion of the paragraphs, that the plagiarism might, if possible, escape detection. In what manner any thing of *Mr. Bower's* own manufacture is inserted, and of what kind those insertions are, we may judge from the specimen that I have given; and I shall here beg leave to say a little more concerning a point which will give the reader a very just, tho' I cannot say, a very favourable opinion of the history of the Popes. The plan of the worthy author being to write in the character of a champion of Protestants, but the materials, upon which he was to work, being entirely *Popish*, wherever he finds *Tillemont* giving up with candour, as he frequently doth, the mistakes of the pontificals, and the blunders of the martyrologists, and relating, with fidelity, facts unfavourable to modern pretensions of the court of *Rome*, such passages *Mr. Bower* eagerly lays hold of; a little additional colouring gives them the air of being the production of a protestant master; and, by the slightest touch of his pen, the censures of the honest *Frenchman* upon individuals of his own communion, are converted into triumphs over *Popery* in general. But besides giving a Protestant aspect to *Popish* materials, *Mr. Bower*, willing to give us all the proofs of his zeal for the reformation hath taken care to enrich his work, abundantly, with common place topics of controversy between the two churches, introduced sometimes naturally enough, but, most frequently, without any connexion or reference to

(A) In one or two places *Mr. Dupin* has had the honour of being copy'd by our great historian; particularly that view of state of the polity of the church, in the third and fourth centuries, inserted into the life of Pope *Sylvester*, is mostly translated from *Du Pin's* discipl. *Dissertationes de ant. eccles. discipl.* the

the facts which lie before him. I make no doubt that it was principally from such parts of his work, the historian of the *Popes* expected to be in esteem amongst Protestants; and yet, admitting that they are any thing more than hasty compilations from our own writers (which Mr. *Bower* will hardly venture to affirm) instead of adding any real value to the book where we find them, they only serve, by their length and frequency, to disgust the reader, who can find little entertainment in reflexions (B), which continually interrupt the history without throwing any light upon it; and serve no other purpose but to increase the number of Mr. *Bower's* volumes, and to keep up in the minds of Protestants a persuasion of

(B) Tho' I am confident I shall not be thought, by any one who has turned over the history of the *Popes*, to be too severe in this judgment; the reader, who has not examined the book, may perhaps be induced to think I am not much in the wrong when I mention that, in this particular, the learned and candid Dr. *Mary*, author of the *Journal Britannique*, pronounces a similar judgment. In his *Journal* for July 1750, in which he mentions the publication of *Bower's* 2d volume, after observing how difficult it was to throw any ornaments upon a series of little events, blind intrigues, subtle disputes, and obscure decisions; and that it was chiefly from the *exactness and the erudition* of the work that the history of the *Popes* derived any reputation which it seemed to have, the Journalist adds, that it were to be wished that Mr. *Bower* had contented himself with relating and establishing facts, and been less diffuse in reflexions and disputes which augment the natural dryness of the work, by introducing into it a disagreeable sameness. — "Il seroit peut-être à souhaiter, que content de rapporter & de constater les faits, l'auteur se fut moins étendu en reflexions & en disputes, qui augmentent la sècheur naturelle de cet ouvrage, en y introduisant une désagréable uniformité." — *Journal Britann.* Juillet, 1750. p. 350.

(A) In one or two places Mr. Dupin has had the honour of being copied by our great historian; particularly that view of state of the polity of the church, in the third and fourth centuries, inserted into the life of Pope Sylvester, is mostly translated from Du Pin's *disquis.* *Dissertationes de ant. eccl. discipl.* his

his aversion to Popery; which, however foreign to this subject of his history, he thought necessary in order to its success. — I shall only add to this character of the *History of the Popes*, that as many of the reflexions tacked to it are tedious and unseasonable, others of them are injudicious, if not unfair attacks upon Popery. I have already given the reader a satisfactory proof of this, in a note; and shall farther observe here, that in a vast many places of Mr. Bower's history, we find him labouring with all his might, to overthrow the personal infallibility of the Popes as an article of the Popish faith. Had he ever read the writings of Protestant Divines with attention, he would have found the skilful champions of the reformation planting their batteries not against the infallibility of the Popes, but against the infallibility of the Church; and far from representing the former as an article of the Popish faith, urging the disputes of *Roman Catholics* amongst themselves, about the feat of their boasted infallibility, as an argument against its existence any where. When we find Mr. Bower, therefore, affecting, upon all occasions, to represent the personal infallibility of the Pope, a doctrine peculiar to the *Jesuits*, as a doctrine believed by Papists in general, which every one knows to be false, he must stand charged either with blind ignorance of his subject, or with wilful misrepresentation of his adversaries. In either of these views, his work will do disservice to the side he pretends to espouse. In the former view he will do harm, by not knowing when to blame; and in the latter, he will advance the cause of Popery, by seeming to confute it. The reader must judge from circumstances, whether Mr. Bower's conduct leaves any room for suspecting that he had any other view in writing his history, besides that of procuring a good subscription. And I shall only observe, upon the occasion, that if he should

See page 23.  
 seems not to have the least doubt, in his history of Manichaeism, printed in 1734.



never think of exchanging his Lay-dress for his Black Cloak, and from an *Esquire*, humble himself to his real appellation of *Father Bower, Priest, and Jesuit*; for the large contributions raised by him upon Protestants, by being added to the purse of his order, should not be able to atone for his disobedience, his brethren will not be inexorable, as he has it in his power to urge, that, under the character of a Protestant Historian, supported as we have seen by plagiarism and misrepresentation, he was taking an effectual way to serve *Popery*, and to betray that cause which he pretended to defend.

Thus much with regard to those parts of Mr. *Bower's* history of the Popes, which I am willing to admit are his own; and now I return to the consideration of the far greater and more essential part of it, which, it appears, he has, most shamelessly borrowed. — Tho' I had traced him, page by page, through most part of his first volume, and compared him with *Tillemont* down to the fifth century, equally amazed at the extent of his plagiarism, as I was tired with the dull, and laborious employment to which I submitted, in order to discover it, I was resolved, however, not to give over my search before I had examined a particular part of the second volume; not that I thought I had not done enough already to give the public a just view of the book, but for a particular purpose which I shall now explain.

Under the article of *Leo the great*, from page 19, to page 23, of the second volume, Mr. *Bower* gives us, in his notes, a very particular account of the opinions of the *Manichees*, and relates the history of *Sylbian* and *Mans* the first founders of that sect. In his relation of this, we find him following implicitly the wild and improbable tales, concerning the origin of this heresy, related under the name of *Archelous*, in a work about the genuineness of which he seems not to have the least doubt, tho' Mr. *Beausobre*, in his history of *Manicheism*, printed in 1734, had

had, with uncommon learning and singular abilities, demonstrated that it was a spurious romance. A gentleman, well known to the learned world, had not, in Mr. Bower's opinion, done justice to the exactness and erudition of the history of the Popes, in an account which he had given of it in a literary journal. Upon the historian's taking an opportunity of telling him so, the gentleman thought he could not better defend that judgment which he had passed, than by expressing his surprise, that, at this time of day, any one should, in an account of *Manichæism*, follow the legend of *Archelaus*, the credit of which had been totally destroyed by Mr. Beausobre, several years before the history of the Popes was written. So striking an instance of ignorance of his subject, would have confounded any author, who saw himself charged with it, except Mr. Bower, who, with a modesty peculiar to himself, thought he sufficiently accounted for his ignorance of Beausobre's work, by answering *That in compiling his history of the Popes he never consulted the moderns, but wrote only from original writers.* Now, not to mention that the writings of modern critics are the only lights that can be made use of to determine, whether a book pretending to antiquity, be genuine or no, (which shews that our historian in disclaiming all assistance from Beausobre, would have been inexcusable, tho' he had really written from *Archelaus*) what I mean to take notice of, at present, is that Mr. Bower, notwithstanding the above answer, equally foolish as it was arrogant, did not even go so high as this spurious book, from which he pretends to have compiled his history of *Manichæism*, but is as much a plagiarist from moderns, in this, as we have already found him to be in other parts of his work. Upon calling in the evidence of *Tillemont* against him, I satisfy'd myself that his account of the *Manichæes*, is almost all, closely translated from the *Frenchman*; only with this notable improvement, that whereas *Tillemont* begins with giv-

ing us an account of the opinions of these Heretics, and then proceeds to the history of their founders. *Bower* inverts this order, giving us the history before he mentions the opinions, as if, by so doing, he could secure to himself the reputation of being an original writer, and avoid the infamy of being detected as the most unlicensed plagiarist. — I should not have done justice to my Subject, had I not related this remarkable instance, first, of our author's want of erudition, who, it appears, transcribes *Tillemont*, not only where he happens to be in the right, but adheres also to him, in those parts of his work, where every man of learning is agreed that he is in the wrong; and, secondly, of our author's uncommon modesty, who, when charged with this gross ignorance, could, from this very circumstance, take occasion to boast of the excellency of his work, and the exactness of his researches.

Having thus confirmed, by particular instances, the general charge of *plagiarism* which I brought against the history of the Popes in my former Pamphlet, and detected the book, as effectually, as, upon that occasion, I detected the man, I think I have now a right to address myself to those persons, if there be any such, who have affected to censure the share I took in unmasking the disguised *Jesuit*; who still persist, in opposition to demonstration, and unmoved by the general voice of the nation, in protecting one from infamy whom they are not able to free from the charge of guilt; and who, continuing to admit him to their presence, may to honour him with their friendship, have nothing to urge as an apology for this strange, unaccountable conduct, but that the history of the Popes is so valuable a book, as to entitle the author to the indulgence and to the encouragement of a people, whose generosity he hath abused by the grossest impostures. What then, will such persons, after perusing the specimen which I have given, of this so much boasted



ed book, have to say, in excuse for their own gross ignorance & Ignorance, indeed, in matters of ecclesiastical antiquity, can be no great disparagement to the scholarship of persons, whose profession in life, hath not laid them under obligation to acquaint themselves with this dry branch of learning. But, surely, they who appear to have been thus ignorant of the real merits of our Jesuit's history of the Popes, should have been more diffident of their own judgment, nor have refused to open their eyes to the demonstrative proofs of their friend's guilt, before they had better assurance than they seem to have had, that his Book was a work of intrinsic merit. And had the judgment of any one learned man, of the church of *England*, been asked upon this occasion, they would have been told, that the *History of the Popes*, far from being so well executed as to atone for the impostures of the author, was looked upon as too contemptible to intitle him to much merit, altho' his connections with *Papists*, long after his pretended conversion, had never come to light, and his views and designs had remained unsuspected. For I must again repeat, what hath been already observed, that the learned had, in general, from the first appearance of Mr. Bower's history, agreed in pronouncing this verdict, that it was, at best, a very ordinary performance, compiled without knowledge of the subject, critical skill, or learned accuracy; a verdict which I well knew to be founded in truth, before I was made acquainted with the author's real character; and a verdict which hath been so remarkably justify'd by the particular instances of his extensive plagiarism and profound ignorance, which I have now laid before the public.

From the unaccountable blindness of Mr. Bower's admirers, let us now turn our eyes to the amazing and unparalleled effrontery of Mr. Bower himself. When we recollect the various arts to which he had recourse, in order to raise the expectation of the inhabitants

habitants of this country, and to prepare them for wonderful discoveries against Popery in his book, no enrich which the *Vatican* (C), as he boasted, had given up its concealed treasures, to find, at last, that this work is, as to all the history part, a most contemptible and careless transcript from modern Popish authors: this, at first sight, will be thought so improbable, by many of my readers, that I could scarcely expect to be believed, if I had not, by the specimen which I have given, put it in every body's power to see that I have made good my charge beyond all possibility of evasion or answer.

And, yet, indebted as Mr. *Bower* appeareth to be, for so great a part of his work to *Tillemont*, it will, perhaps, heighten our opinion of his singular modesty, to observe that neither in his preface doth he acknowledge any assistance received from him, nor do I find *Tillemont* once cited as an authority, throughout the whole first volume.—Indeed, in one view, there would have been a remarkable impropriety, in citing him, at any particular place of the history of the Popes, which is, almost in every place, a literal translation from him. Besides, how could Mr. *Bower* have supported his claim to be an original writer, so necessary to be founded in Protestant ears, if all that parade of learning, displayed at the bottom of his page, had been blotted out, and his numerous references to the ancient fathers removed, in order to substitute his real resources, *Tillemont* and a few other moderns?

But he seems to have had a still better reason, for not acknowledging his obligations to *Tillemont*. For when we consider that his very valuable work was

(C) Mr. *Bower* may perhaps not choose to remember, tho' others do, that he has, in a circle of honest Protestants, more than once mentioned as a part of his legend, that he preserved the materials which he had collected at *Rome*, and from the *Vatican*, and brought them safe to *England*, sewed within the lining of his coat.

undertaken

undertaken with the professed intention, of exposing to Protestants the errors and frauds of the church of Rome, it would have been extremely wrong in him, to have disclosed a secret, inconsistent with this claim. And, no doubt, the same wise and prudent reasons which made him so averse to own any correspondence with *father Sheldon*, tho' his own letters were produced to prove it, induced him also to conceal from his Protestant readers, his intimate acquaintance with *Tillemont*, tho' his own work gives evidence against him.

This character assumed by the historian of the Popes, of being the champion of Protestants, hath furnished him with his best, if not his only argument, to invalidate the charge of imposture brought against him. No sooner were the six letters to *father Sheldon* produced, than the cry of a Popish plot against Mr. *Bower* was in the mouths of some who might have satisfy'd themselves, had they been inclined to do it, that there was no plot, but of Mr. *Bower* to impose upon them and upon the whole kingdom. And he himself, in the postscript to his *Affidavit*, thinks it will serve his cause, to observe that the principal materials published in my Pamphlet, appear to have been furnished by Papists, tho', from the nature of the facts, Papists alone could furnish them. — But if this apology had any weight then, it will avail him much more, at present. The materials furnished to me by Papists, and published, in my former Pamphlet, served only to expose his private character; but the materials which, in the present performance, have been furnished to me by *Tillemont*, tend obviously to expose his book. I shall not be surprized, therefore, if the cry of producing Popish evidence against our Protestant champion, be again revived, and this most satisfactory answer given to my present labour, that *Tillemont*, from whom I have received all my information, is a Papist. Besides, it is fortunate for Mr. *Bower*, that



undertaken with the pious intention, of exposing to Protestants the errors and stands of the church of Rome, that he is in possession of a method, which I foresee, in the judgment of his friends, will be an effectual answer to all that I have written. He need only apply to the same able solicitor who penned his former affidavits, to draw up another for him, in which he may deny that he ever transcribed from *Tillemont*, with as great solemnity and as little reserve, as he denied his having ever corresponded with *Sheldon*. Such an oath, made before Mr. justice *Fielding*, will, no doubt, have equal weight with the two already made; and the same persons, who, when the point in dispute was, whether Mr. *Bower* was a person fit to be credited, were satisfy'd with his own affirmation, that he was, will have as good reason for believing him now, upon the same evidence. If Mr. *Bower* could find so easy a way of persuading his friends to distrust their own senses, with regard to the *six letters* and the *receipts* confirming them, the same way repeated will also induce them to believe, that he never copy'd from *Tillemont*, even after they have perused the above demonstration of his most audacious plagiarism.

But the attempt of this man to obtrude upon this nation, a book patched up from scraps of *Papish* authors, as a standard work, in defence of the reformation, while it shews him to be capable of aiming at any imposture, at the same time gives us a very convincing proof of the mean opinion he entertain'd of the learning of Protestants, and satisfies us, that his insolent contempt of us as a writer, is not inferior to his effrontery in the rest of his conduct. The high sounding titles assumed by him, and the wonderful tale of his escape into *England*, with which he was pleased to amuse us, prove to us, how much he built upon the credulity of the *British* nation. And, in the same manner, his attempt to make a wretched compilation from *Tillemont* and other moderns, pass amongst us for a work extracted from the original writers, prove to us how much he

built

built upon our ignorance. Perhaps, a former instance had encouraged him to hope, that, in this country, any one might commence writer without knowledge of his subject, or other qualifications besides that being able to transcribe or translate. And as he knew of a history of heathen *Rome*, written by an intimate friend of his own, carelessly pieced together from *Bundy's* translation of *Catrou* and *Rouille*, from *Gordon's Tacitus*, and the like original authorities, he flattered himself that an history of christian *Rome* might be safely attempted upon a similar plan, forgetting that the plagiarism of the person who had the affairs of *Rome* assigned, to him (D), in the *Universal History*, had not escaped de-

(D) Mention being here made of the *Universal History*, I shall take this occasion, to relate a very remarkable anecdote, which will, at once, vindicate that useful work from a most injurious assertion, and confirm those many instances which have been produced to prove that Mr. *Bower* thinks himself under no obligation to speak truth, at least to us Heretics. The utmost care had been taken, in compiling the *Universal History*, to make it a work serviceable to religion. Notwithstanding which Mr. *Bower* was pleased to tell a great prelate, one of the ornaments of our church, yet in that part of the history written by Mr. *Salé* there were several passages favouring the cause of infidelity; which passages he assured his lordship had been left out, by his own pious care, in the 8vo. edition, which he had revised and corrected. This being told by another learned prelate, the late bishop of Bristol, to a friend whose learned labours had made one of the most valuable parts of the *Universal History*, and from whom I have this relation, he assured his lordship that he was certain no such infidel passages ever existed in that history; and in order to give him demonstration of the little regard to be paid to Mr. *Bower's* word he employed a friend to collate carefully so far as Mr. *Salé* wrote the folio edition, in which those passages were said to be, with the 8vo. edition in which Mr. *Bower* said he had left them out. The result of which collation was that the two editions were exactly the same, not a single alteration having been made except by substituting, in two or three places, the Hebrew chronology instead of that followed by the Septuagint.

rection, tho' he had escaped censure, his work having been exhibited to the public, in an entertainment, where a great many good dishes served up, made ample amends for one *miserable hash*, which could not have been endured, had it been served up by itself.

Tho' therefore Mr. *Bower* had no encouragement from the success of this former attempt, to entertain so low an opinion of the learning of this nation, he supposed, no doubt, that we know less of ecclesiastical history than of profane, and consequently that he might be able, by his own claim to attention, founded on his assumed character, and by the zeal of his friends, as blind as it was well meaning, to impose upon the whole nation, and force us to receive with applause, and to read with approbation, a work, perhaps the most contemptible that ever escaped from the hasty pen of the most ignorant of hackney scriblers.—I believe, he now sees how totally he has been mistaken in his hopes and expectations; and after the above specimen which I have given of his history, I should imagine he himself, how remarkable soever for his modesty, will be cautious, for the future, of boasting of the merit of that work. But, whatever part he may act upon the occasion, I flatter myself, that his few Protestant friends, still left, who, from the supposed excellencies of his book, have *hitherto* been blind to his impostures, will now open their eyes, and feel, at last, the same emotions of indignation and resentment, which the nation in general, insulted and abused as it was, naturally felt, as soon as his real character was displayed.

If the resentment of the public could not but be excited against Mr. *Bower*, as soon as they were made acquainted with the shameful arts to which he had recourse, in order to obtain their favour, it was no wonder that the performance in which his impostures were disclosed, should engage their attention, and be received with approbation. And while



while the impartial voice of the public hath applauded my labours; while \* the literary journalists have, with a candour, which doth them honour, done justice to my motives in detecting this strange impostor; while men of learning in general in every part of the kingdom have been unanimous in their judgment about the affair; and while the clergy of the church of *England* in particular, have looked upon the detection of *Bower* as a debt due to the cause of truth, and a real service done to the Protestant religion; while, in short, I have had the approbation of almost every one, whose good opinion is worth having, I can bear, without the least uneasiness to be called by Mr. *Bower* himself, an *anonymous Protestant Papist*; I can

\* See the Monthly and Critical Reviews for July, especially the latter (where the reader will meet with a very copious and well digested abstract of my Pamphlet) and the Literary Magazine, published on the 15th of July. While I acknowledge myself greatly obliged to the author of the last, for the commendations he is pleased to bestow on my performance, I cannot help expressing my sorrow, that one of his extensive penetration and solid judgment, should say *that I have hurt my cause* by relating several Anecdotes of Mr. *Bower* without naming my authorities. I know not whether the following answer will be satisfactory; I hope it may. Every Anecdote, then, which I mentioned without a name, can be authenticated, if necessary, in the most unexceptionable manner. But as the Persons concerned had related them to their friends, only in private conversation, I should have thought myself greatly to blame, had I mentioned their names, without obtaining expressly their consent to do it. And I thought it quite unnecessary to mention them, because I knew, that Mr. *Bower* was perfectly well acquainted upon whose authority the facts were related, and being conscious that they were *all true*, durst not deny the charge; or at least, if he did venture to deny it, I knew it was *then* time enough to name my witnesses, when the accused person pleaded not guilty. — As I shall have occasion to mention at present one or two remarkable anecdotes, in the relation of which there may be the same impropriety to name the persons concerned as, in the former

(E) I can despise the scurrilous abuse of a libellous scribber in a (F) News Paper, and laugh at the harmless invective of the author of *Bower vindicated* (G).

Indeed former instances, I take this opportunity of giving my reasons for so doing; and am not without my hopes, that they will be thought to have some weight.

(E) In the postscript to his affidavit.

(F) Published in the General Evening Post of August 10, and, if my information be just, handed to the press by Mr. Bower himself, who paid for its insertion. The letter writer pretends to live at too great a distance, to have learnt with precision whether the accusation against Bower can be supported; and yet he treats the author of the pamphlet against his friend's character with the same scurrility, as if the accusation had been disproved. He boasts much of the service Bower's history hath done, by giving us the rise of transubstantiation and of the Inquisition; and yet neither transubstantiation nor the Inquisition existed in that period of the history already treated by Mr. Bower. But the greatest praise of the history of the Popes must be given in his own words. "Not a syllable, not a fact in this history, but what is taken from authors of the Roman communion." I am glad, that so furious an antagonist, as this man seems to be, agrees perfectly with me; for I have shewn the very point, that he asserts, to be well founded; and as he looks upon this as a recommendation of the history of the Popes, I flatter myself, that the present performance will restore me to his favour, and that he will no longer look upon me as the tool of the infamous Papists; nor he himself be any longer an advocate for an insidious impostor.

(G) This friend of Mr. Bower seems to have mistaken his trade, when he commenced author. But his zeal for his friend's character called him forth. The pamphlet has been as industriously propagated and frequently advertised, as if it were the sheet anchor of Mr. Bower's cause, and yet it hath done him as much harm as if it had been written by an enemy. For here we find the money transaction with the Jesuits admitted, and all the apology made for it--that Mr. Bower had done this thing inadvertently, and in a hurry, which we know to have been above two years in transacting.

Indeed it cannot but appear ridiculous, in the highest degree, to hear Mr. Bower and his worthy associates, unable to answer any one of the facts laid to his charge, accusing me of *Popish* inclinations, for giving what I think, a most signal instance of zeal for the Protestant religion. If a deserter should come over to our army, pretending to have escaped from the enemy at the hazard of his life, for his attachment to our service, and in order to gain credit and protection amongst us, should call himself an officer of distinction, and pretend to be able to give us intelligence of vast consequence, if it should afterwards be made evident to demonstration, that he was a lying fellow, that he had invented a history of himself that had no reality, that while he was honoured and trusted in our service, he kept up a correspondence with the General of our enemy's army, and received a pension from him, at the very time when he pretended to us, that his life was in danger from that quarter, would it not be natural to suspect such a wretch of bad designs? Would it not be the opinion of every sensible man, that to continue to shew countenance to him could do no good, but might do much harm to the service? Would not the person who should happen to come to the knowledge of his imposture, and who should disclose them to the whole army, be looked upon as having done his duty, nay, as having deserved thanks for his diligence? And would it not be an insult upon common sense, to pretend that the detection of such an impostor was calculated to serve the enemy, especially if it was shewn at the time when he was unmasked, and by the same person who unmasked him, that he never had done any thing to assist our cause, nor communicated any intelligence which could hurt those whom he had left? This illustration, from the case of a military deserter, may be applied, in all its circumstances, to an ecclesiastical one; and every reason which could make



make it be looked upon as a commendable instance of zeal, to detect the former, holds much stronger to justify the detection of the latter; and consequently to secure me from the censure, nay, to intitle me to the thanks of the public, for having been the instrument of discovering to them the real character of the historian of the Popes.

In the ordinary course of private life, the irregularities and inconsistencies of any obscure man's character affect so few, that it would be ridiculous to submit them to the inspection of any besides his immediate acquaintances. If this therefore had been the case of Mr. *Arch. Bower*, upon coming to the knowledge of his real character, I should have contented myself with shunning his society myself, had I known him, and with warning those of my acquaintances who were intimate with him, to be upon their guard. But when I considered that the matter was far otherwise, that Mr. *Bower* had not aimed at deceiving a narrow circle of friends, but a whole nation; and that the private character of being a sincere convert to the religion of Protestants, which he had impudently assumed, had been made subservient to his mercenary views of imposing upon this Protestant kingdom as a writer; in this case, to have known that his pretensions were false, without publicly declaring what I knew, would have argued a tenderness in me, which, while it might have recommended me to the impostor himself, must have exposed me to the censure of every lover of truth, and of the nation in general, so scandalously deceived by this prodigy of a man.

But that the reader may see still more clearly the great advantage which a Protestant detection of Mr. *Bower* hath done to the Protestant cause, let me beleave to suppose, for one moment, that the nation, in general, had acted the strange part which a few individuals have done, by continuing to protect a man who appears to be so unworthy of their protection.

and still is the bulwark of the reformation: it is with no small degree of satisfaction, therefore, that I can say I have been instrumental in raising the  
 tion. Had this been the case, which, fortunately, it is not, what handle for reproach would not this have given to the *Papists*? Ever ready as they are to lay hold of any thing which may reflect disgrace upon the cause of the reformation, would they not have thought it a noble fund of triumph, to observe that the church of *England* had bestowed its rewards on one, whose vices had excluded him from the church of *Rome*? And what more effectual argument could have been made use of by their priests amongst us, to gain new Profelytes, and to confirm those already gained, than this, that the Protestants of this nation were so blinded by prejudice, that they overlooked the most striking instances of profligacy in any one's character, who should list himself as a champion for them?—But if the *Papists* would have had it in their power to make this handle of our continuing to countenance the historian of the Popes, even tho' they had not been able to deny that his history was written with exactness and erudition; how would their triumphs have encreased, if they could have had any pretence to insult us with our having extolled as a standard book against their church a work which appears to be so despicable a performance, and gleaned from *their* writers without care, learning, or judgment? To have seen such a comparison of our Protestant historian and their *Tillemont*, as the reader meets with here, laid before the world from a *Papist* quarter; to have heard it sounded in our ears, that we were so totally unacquainted with ecclesiastical history, as to mistake a servile transcript from moderns, for a work of real erudition; had the behaviour of Protestants, I say, furnished *Papists* with any room for pretences of this kind, what sarcasms might we not have expected upon the occasion? And how disadvantageous an impression must not this have made upon the minds of foreigners, of the present state of learning amongst the divines of a church, which was once,  
 and

and still is the bulwark of the reformation? It is with no small degree of satisfaction, therefore, that I can say I have been instrumental in robbing the Roman Catholics of such plausible topics of declamation. For, from the part which I have acted, and which the approbation of the public hath warranted, *Papists* may see that, however our humanity may induce us to encourage those whom we believe to be sufferers for the sake of conscience, we are ready to discountenance every one who shall make his conversion from *Popery* a cloak for the blackest imposture; that we are not so totally unacquainted with those studies which relate to the points of controversy between us and them, as to think our cause can be assisted by the plagiarism of a renegado *Jesuit*; and that the church of *England* while it can boast of so many champions, trained up in its own bosom, not only to defend it when attacked, but also to carry the war with success into the enemy's quarters, knows too well what is due to truth, has too great a regard to its own honour, and is too well acquainted with its own interest, not to disclaim all connexion with a man, who had founded his claim to respect and esteem on his opinion of *Protestant credulity*, and his expectations of success as a writer on his opinion of *Protestant ignorance*.

And now having said enough, by way of illustration of the motives which engaged me to unmask the historian of the Popes, it may not be improper to say something, which may point out the reason why I have concealed my name.

That my Pamphlet came out thus disowned, as it were, by its Protestant parent, occasioned many to look upon it as of *Popish* extraction. For tho' it was impossible for any one who perused it not to discover the touches of a Protestant pen; tho' some facts, there laid before the world, were of such a nature that no *Papist* could be supposed so great an enemy to the interests of his religion as to disclose them,



them, yet I make no doubt that there are some honest Protestants, who, accustomed to look upon Mr. B. with veneration, and observing the boldness with which he denied the charge brought against him, took it for granted that *the Six Letters illustrated &c.* came from a *Papish* quarter, and upon this supposition, have deny'd it a perusal. But had a name been prefixed to the performance, which would have put it out of all doubt, that the author neither was a *Papist*, nor a tool of the *Papists*, they who have not, as yet, allowed themselves to know the real state of the controversy, would have been encouraged to examine. And as the contents of my Pamphlet, *anonymous* as it was, satisfied every one who read it, that I was a zealous Protestant, the prefixing of my name, by procuring me more readers, would have been of real service to my cause, and of signal detriment to Mr. Bower, as it would have opened his real character to those, who still believe him innocent, only because they know not the proofs of his guilt. — But my reason for concealing my name was a good one. Unless I had acted with this prudence, I should have exposed myself to the resentment of a man who hath shewn the world by his past conduct that he is capable of going all lengths to gain his ends and to establish his character. And in order to prevent any other construction from being put upon this concealment, and as a proof that it did not arise either from being ashamed of myself or of my subject, I take this opportunity of declaring that, if any one Protestant of character and reputation will stand forth and engage his word to the public that Mr. Bower shall take no other method of defending himself but that in which he hath been attacked, and confine himself to his pen and to the press, my name shall be put upon the title page of the next edition of the Pamphlet. But as he will hardly be willing, if he were able, to give me this security, I must be content to allow him to avail himself of the advantage which it appears he has drawn

drawn from my necessary prudence, and submit  
 to be looked upon as a *Protestant Papist* by every body  
 who, without having perused my performance, can  
 be so candid as to think I deserve this appellation,  
 merely because it hath been conferred upon me by my  
 worthy adversary. — I shall only add, that, whoever  
 I am, I have not been more forward in this affair,  
 than any other zealous Protestant, placed in my cir-  
 cumstances would have thought it his duty to be;  
 and that as it fell to my lot, without any imperti-  
 nent curiosity, or unseasonable officiousness, to get  
 early information of Mr. Bower's *Papish* connexions  
 and real character, I could not avoid doing justice to  
 the abused publick by opening a scene, which as it  
 concerned every one to know, I should have been in-  
 excusable if I had concealed.

But while I think that my having been instrumen-  
 tal in detecting a most dangerous impostor, far from  
 requiring an apology, intitles me to some share of  
 merit in the eyes of my countrymen, I am not so  
 blind to my failings as not to confess that, perhaps,  
 in a few places of my performance, I insensibly made  
 use of a severity of expression, which might have been  
 avoided, especially as the facts which I had to relate  
 were so strong as to render asperity of style unnecessary.  
 But in excuse for such exceptionable passages either  
 in the former, or in this Pamphlet, I shall only ob-  
 serve that as I sat down to write, with demonstration  
 of Mr. Bower's guilt before my eyes, it was im-  
 possible, in my opinion, to do justice to my subject  
 without expressing my abhorrence of his character:  
 and I could not express my abhorrence of it, any  
 other wise than by indulging myself in the use of such  
 words as would occur naturally to an honest man,  
 warm with indignation against a person, the baseness  
 of whose general conduct could be exceeded only by  
 the extraordinary lengths to which he went, in hopes  
 to conceal it.

When I reflect, however that this unhappy wretch hath greatly enhanced his guilt, by the methods he took to persuade us of his innocence, resentment and indignation give place in my breast, at least at intervals, to sentiments of a very different kind—sentiments which prove that while I detest the impostor, I am sorry for the man. Alas! had he been able, by his own unsupported affirmation, so solemnly made, to break through a chain of irresistible proofs, and to overpower that weight of evidence the existence of which he could not be ignorant of, and which, therefore, he might have expected to see produced against him, yet what would he have gained? He might still hope, indeed, to preserve the patronage of the Great, to be honored with their friendship, feasted at their tables, and to add to his wealth by larger pensions, and more lucrative employments. But how long would this have lasted? At his time of life, nay at any time of life, the applause of men, and the enjoyments of this world, are but a sorry recompence for the forfeiture of innocence, and for a conscience loaded with present remorse, and starting with apprehensions of futurity. As a man, therefore, I am grieved to see in him so deplorable an instance of the depravity of human nature; as a Christian, I tremble at his dreadful situation, and so far am I from wishing him any harm, or from bearing any ill-will to him, that I should esteem myself happy, if by being the instrument of depriving him of the applause of men, whom he has so grossly deceived, I turn his heart to seek pardon from his God, whom he has so heinously offended, and if by stripping him of the cloak of an impostor, I engage him to put on the garb of a penitent. And as by his past behaviour he hath been a melancholy instance, to prove that when once a man has set himself free from the obligations of religion, nothing is left to restrain him from breaking down every fence



sence thrown up to protect society, so is it my earnest prayer, that, by his future conduct, he may be an equally remarkable instance to prove, that the most determined infidel may be rowzed up to a sense of his unhappy situation; and that a life spent in the commission of every irregularity and in the breach of every duty, may, at last, end in unfeigned sorrow, and effectual reformation.

Though the principal view which I had in renewing my correspondence with the Public, on the subject of Mr. *Archibald Bower*, hath been answered by the above detection of his plagiarism, from which it will appear that the *History of the Popes* is a work worthy of the *Historian*, I shall take an opportunity, before I conclude, to mention some particulars, which, I believe, will be found of such a nature, that I shall hear of no complaints made of my having lengthened my performance with matter foreign to my subject, or unworthy of the perusal of my readers.

Tho' above six months have elapsed since the particulars of Mr. *Bower's* impostures were disclosed; he still holds his tongue, and hath made no reply to a charge which well deserved to be answered without loss of time, and which needeth no other confirmations in the judgment of every impartial man, than that the accused person hath expressed so remarkable a backwardness to say any thing in his defence. A Pamphlet, indeed, made its appearance, if I remember right, the day after the *Six Letters illustrated*, &c. in which Mr. *Bower*, besides his two Affidavits, was pleased to favour the Public with some observations upon the Letters. But, unfortunately for him, there was not a single topic of defence insisted upon, in that performance, which had not been effectually obviated in mine, by which means, and, by the unaccountable silence which he preserved concerning the Money transaction, what he published,

( 74 )  
published on that occasion, served only to confirm the charge brought against him \*. However, in a

Nothing is more evident than that a cause will be injured by defending it, when this defence cannot be made without deviating from truth. One who sits down to disguise, to palliate, to deny what he himself knows to be fact, will be apt, let his ingenuity be ever so great, and his memory ever so faithful, to stumble at every step, and to lose himself in a labyrinth of contradictions. And this hath been the fate of Mr. Bewer, as will appear from the two following instances. In a note p. 22, of the Pamphlet just mentioned, he makes use of the following argument against the genuineness of the letters said to be his, "Is it possible he (Mr. B.) should voluntarily offer to the General of the Jesuits—to go where he should think fit to send him and this at a time when he was in better circumstances, than he ever had been in since his arrival in England; was honoured with the friendship of many Protestants of rank and abilities, able and willing to serve and protect him."—Mr. B. is desired to reconcile the above passage, with the following one which stands in the preface to his history, "What I desired by adhering to truth, most of the Roman Catholics in England well know, and I am very confident that none of them can say that I have ever reaped or sought to reap, the least temporal benefit from it." In this preface which, the reader will please to observe, was published in the same year that he is supposed to have offered to go back to the Jesuits, he asserts boldly that he had never reaped the least temporal benefit from his conversion. And, yet, in his note upon the letters, he forms an argument against the credibility of his offering to go back to the Jesuits, from his having reaped signal benefits by his conversion, being honoured, as he says, by the friendship of many Protestants of rank and abilities, able and willing to serve and protect him.

Again, in his second observation on the letters p. 32, he challenges the whole body of Priests and Jesuits, and all the Proselytes that have been made to the Romish church since the year 1730, to prove—that since that period he has been at Miss, or been any ways directly or indirectly concerned in or accessory to their conversion to Popery. If this paragraph hath any meaning at all (and the meaning seems to be plain enough) the year

Postscript annexed, the substance of which he soon after converted into an Advertisement in the News Papers, he promises *to answer the false facts, and the false reasoning of the anonymous Protestant Papist at a proper time.*

Here, then, it is scarcely possible to avoid a smile, when we see the miserable shifts to which this unhappy man is reduced, who asserts his innocence in such a way, as hath all the appearance of a consciousness of guilt. What time could be *so proper* as the present time, to reply to a charge which no innocent man would have allowed to strengthen itself by the silence of a day, nay of an hour; a charge besides of such a nature, being founded on facts which if false could have been refuted, without any hesitation, and disproved as soon as they were known to be asserted? Mr. Bower, therefore, must excuse me for saying, that his tameness upon such an occasion seems to be much of a piece, with the behaviour of the memorable *Nell Bluff* in the comedy, who, after all his swaggering to give his sagacious Knight a high idea of his fighting character, allows himself to be kicked about the stage, threatening most valiantly that *he will find a time.*

But, perhaps, Mr. Bower hath not deserted the field of battle from a consciousness that he can make no defence; but, like a skilful General, avoids the enemy

1730 is fixed by Mr. B. as the period beyond which he cares not to fix the date of his Protestant inclinations. For unless he had been conscious to himself that he *had been at Mass*, in England and *been concerned in, or accessory to some conversion to Popery* before 1730, his challenge to the Priests and Jesuits upon this occasion would have been absurd. According to Mr. B---r's own word then, he has been a Protestant only since 1730, that is *twenty-six years*. But what is his word when weighed against his oath? for in his affidavit he *swears that for upwards of twenty-nine years last past he has not been present at any religious worship or ceremony of the Romish church*, and during the same period hath believed the Popish doctrines *to be impious and heretical.*



enemy only till he can muster up all his forces, and fight to advantage. The most sanguine of his friends cannot make a supposition more favorable to his character. And while I take it for granted, that he means, unless he proposes to hide himself entirely from the world, to make some effort to reply to the charge brought against him; he must indulge me in taking the liberty to acquaint him with something which he will not care to hear, something which may incline even himself to suspect that his intended reply, far from re-establishing his character, will serve only to give the Public a more perfect idea of the amazing extent of his depravity.

When a criminal knows all the evidence that can be produced against him, several months before he is to be tried, this may enable him, perhaps, to make a decent figure upon his trial, and his defence if not sufficient to procure his acquittal, may weaken the proofs, or extenuate the heinousness of his guilt. If, therefore, Mr. *Bower* could be certain that no evidences of the truth of the charge brought against him do exist, besides those already laid before the Public, this might encourage him to assert boldly what it is not in any one's power to contradict. But, on the other hand, if he sits down to prepare a defence, with the terrors of farther discoveries, hanging over his head, and ready to be disclosed, he will fluctuate, uncertain what to assert and what to deny. Upon this account, it cannot be very welcome news to him, to be informed, that since the publication of my former Pamphlet, a variety of fresh evidence hath been recovered, and several additional irresistible proofs, stronger perhaps (if stronger can be) than those already communicated to the world, have come to light. Unfortunate hath it proved for the reputation of Mr. *Bower*, but fortunate for the cause of truth, that the unexpected, not to say the uncandid behaviour of one or two of his warm admirers, laid *Sr. H—y B—d* under a

and during which time all signs of you were kind  
as mentioned in the account of the same  
and

kind of necessity to look about him, as in his own defence, and to submit to the trouble of making every possible inquiry, and of collecting proofs from every quarter, that those persons who had been so much Mr. Bower's friends as to pay no regard to similitude of hands, might be forced, if they were friends to truth, to pay some regard to other unanswerable evidences. Hence, therefore, it hath happened, that besides collecting that variety of collateral proofs already made public, several other very important, authentic evidences, in spite of the greatest discouragements from the timidity of some, and the policy of others, have been procured, and may, at a proper time (to use Mr. Bower's phrase) be submitted to the inspection of the Public. Not that I think any additional evidence necessary to confirm the general charge. For, if after all that hath been already communicated, relating to the character and conduct of Mr. Archibald Bower, there can exist any one person, who will lay his hand upon his heart and say that he still believes *that the Six Letters to father Sheldon are most evident and palpable forgeries, and that there has been any attack on the character of an innocent man foully made*; to aim at this person's conviction, by producing farther evidence, would be lost labour. Let him remain single, as he must be, in his unaccountable incredulity; for either his prejudices are so strong, and his understanding so weak as to render him insensible of the force of evidence, or else there are reasons, not to be owned, why evidence of the greatest force must be resisted. But, tho' it would be entirely unnecessary to produce more proofs of Mr. Bower's Popish connexions, by way of establishing a charge already demonstrated, it may be proper, upon some future occasion, to open new scenes of his fraud and imposture, by way of reply to any defence which this strange man may venture to make. Confident as

I am

I affirm that no defence can be made, by him, but such as hath its foundation on the defects of our intelligence; he must excuse me, if I conceal from him, at present, how far our intelligence doth reach. This it will be time enough to disclose, when he shall have given us an opportunity to shew that, presuming upon our ignorance, he hath persisted in affirmations which we have it in our power to disprove, and hath laid down a plan of defence worthy of the man who could be the author of the *Six Letters* to father *Sheldon*, and of that wonderful performance in which they are so solemnly disclaimed.

However, that Mr. *Bower* may not think I am terrifying him with imaginary discoveries, and that my reader may receive satisfaction about an important article, which had not come to my knowledge when I published my former Pamphlet, I shall relate, at present, one Anecdote, which will serve the double purpose of displaying the general conduct of the man, and of throwing additional light on that particular part of it, the correspondence with father *Sheldon*.

It is well known that a principal topic insisted upon by Mr. *Bower*, to prove the spuriousness of the *Six Letters* to Father *Sheldon*, is that the persons who produced the Letters cannot produce the *Woman* who makes the principal figure there, whose existence, therefore, he hath boldly denied. — Admitting that no such Woman existed (and I make no doubt that a Woman, to whom *all* the circumstances, mentioned in the Letters, really belonged, never did exist but in the wicked heart of the Author) enough was said upon a former occasion, to obviate any objection which could be drawn from this, against the genuineness of the Letters. However, as a Woman to whom many of the circumstances there mentioned perfectly agree, hath been found, Mr. *Bower*, I hope, will not take it amiss if I lay before the Public a

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transaction which will do him little honor, and the truth of which, tho' I forbear to mention Names of persons of reputation still alive, in an affair of so great delicacy, he knows can be attested in the most satisfactory manner, by many Protestant Witnesses.

Mr. Bower while he was in the family of Lord Aylmer, got acquainted with a gentlewoman, with whom, by her situation, he could not but have frequent opportunities of conversing. This acquaintance produced a courtship, and the courtship ended in a contract of marriage. After he had laid himself under this engagement, he put off the fulfilling of the contract from time to time, pretending that he was at law for an estate in Scotland, and that he could not

One of the arts most successfully practised by Mr. B. in order to preserve his sinking reputation, hath been to represent, to his friends, such particulars as part of the charge against him, as were well known by them to be absolutely false; with a view to induce them to believe that the facts really charged to his account, were equally groundless.

It was asserted, and it has been proved, that he converted a Printer and his wife to popery, but who ever laid it to his charge that he had converted Lord Aylmer? And yet it is well known that Mr. B. hath taken great pains to inform his friends that this scandalous falsehood was a part of the accusation brought against him. But he is here called upon to name any one person who ever told him that Lord Aylmer's adherence to the Protestant religion, was ever suspected, or his own tampering with him, ever mentioned, by those who have been instrumental in the detection of this strange man.

It were to be wished, that those gentlemen who are inclined to believe Mr. B. innocent, would be so cautious as to insist upon some confirmation besides his own word, of what he may please to tell them, either concerning the charge brought against him, or the defence that he makes.

This was not the only instance in which the pretence of having a law-suit for an estate in Scotland, was made use of by Mr. Bower in order to gain time, in his courtship.

not marry, conveniently, till he was put in possession of this income. Under this pretence he continued his intimacy and visits to the Gentlewoman, after she had left her former situation, and lived with a near relation, her brother, in whose house she still resides, not many miles North from London. This gentleman being acquainted with the affair, and finding reason to suspect that our worthy gallant had no intention to do justice to his sister, interfered, and after a negociation, in the course of which Mr. Bower's shuffling, inconsistent character was sufficiently displayed, the affair was at last accommodated by the payment of five hundred pounds, in consideration of which, tho' a thousand pounds had been at first demanded, Mr. Bower was set at liberty from his engagement; not long after his Preface was made public.

This remarkable transaction, tho' it doth not, in some circumstances, agree to the story of the woman in the Letters, will, however, throw some more light upon them. For we shall now be able to account, better than we did before, for the vast solicitude expressed by the writer, to get his money from Father Sheldon. When Mr. Bower wrote the Six Letters, he was pressed about the performance of the marriage contract; and as he had no way of extricating himself out of this affair but, by paying the

very many of his acquaintances well remember to have heard a like tale from him, even when he could have no motive to deceive them besides the gratification of a vanity uncontrollable by truth. But he is desired to mention, when this lawsuit commenced, with whom he was carried on, and by what Judge it was determined. He used to call this estate Two or Three hundred pounds a year; and, no doubt, he can produce his title to it, writ on the same paper with his appointment to be Counsellor of the Inquisition at *Madrid*, with the annual salary of Two hundred pounds, concerning which we shall hear more by and by.

*five hundred pounds* demanded of him, it was natural for him to have recourse to the *Jesuits* for his money; and the distress which he represents himself to be under, however exaggerated in its description and varied in its circumstances, now appears to have had a real foundation. Perhaps, also, we shall now be able to account for his having begun to receive subscriptions for a history of the Popes, just at the very time, when, after his submissive Letters to the *Jesuits*, there appeared no hopes of his recovering his money from them. He was, at that period, under such circumstances that there was a necessity of raising the *five hundred pounds* insisted upon; and having failed, as he thought, in his attempt to get any of his own money, to be applied to this purpose, he formed the design of creating another fund, by the profits of a subscription; hoping from the influence of his Patrons, the popularity of his subject, and the pompous titles he assumed, to collect, from the Public, at least that sum for which he had immediate occasion; and which would have enabled him to satisfy the woman and her relations, even tho' the *Jesuits* had not, soon after, thought proper to enable him to do it, out of his own money which they restored \*.

I shall only add to what I have said already concerning this *Woman* (whom Mr. *Bower* will have reason to be afraid of, upon this occasion, tho' he has been long ago released from his engagement to her), that, tho' she had no child, the same authority upon which I have related the above particulars, assures me that she had *two Nieces*, a circumstance which, however indifferent it may be thought

\* Since the publication of my former Pamphlet, I have learnt, that *Sheldon* was in such a hurry to pay *Bower*, after the publication of his Preface, that he borrowed the money.



thought by a common reader, will be known to be of infinite consequence, by Mr. Bower, who must recollect (and if he doth not, others do) that while he frequented this family, he expressed so much pious care for the religious welfare of the two young persons thus nearly related to his future spouse, that he endeavoured to unsettle those Protestant principles in which they had been educated, with the same zeal, that he had displayed in the case of Mrs. Hoyle and her husband.

This transaction being now laid before the Public, with such particulars as will satisfy Mr. Bower, that they who can say so much, have it in their power to say more (if more should be required), he will see the necessity of new modelling his defence; and when the *Proper Time* shall come, we may expect, as he finds us so well informed, that he will not infer his innocence, so boldly, as he hath hitherto done, from our not being able to produce a *Woman*.

But Mr. Bower's connexions with, and courtship of other *Women*, besides this person to whom he was forced to pay five hundred pounds, are now well known; and such instances of his dexterity in deceiving helpless and unsuspecting females could be assigned, as will incline us to believe him capable of practising any arts of imposition. At present, however, I shall avoid following this worthy Gentleman into his amorous recesses, and say nothing of a correspondence which can be as well authenticated as that with Father Sheldon, and which it will be equally for his honor to deny by an affidavit. For, in the plenitude of evidence already produced, there can be no occasion to swell the charge, by mentioning facts, the relation of which might perhaps give pain to some persons of merit, whose injured relations have experienced that Mr. B. has no regard to the most sacred obligations. He may observe, from this hint, that, were it necessary, we could unfold a tale, which would shew that he was capable of paying his addresses to more than one woman, at the same time, with as little concern, as he could court the approbation of his *Jesuit* Superiors, while he was passing with Protestants as a real Convert from Popery.

But the discovery of a *Woman* (or rather of *several Women*), however unfortunate for our *Historian*, will perhaps give him less uneasiness than he must feel, upon hearing that other authentic evidences to confirm the general charge of fraud and imposture, and to extend our view of his correspondence with the *Jesuits*, beyond the limits of the Six Letters to *Skeldon*, are come to light, and are now in the possession of the same honorable Gentleman, to whom this nation is indebted principally for the materials, which, by falling into my hands, have put it out of the power of a dangerous deceiver, to continue any longer those arts of imposition, which he had so long practised successfully amongst us. Mr. *Bower* can have no room, from what hath happened, to flatter himself with hopes, that this additional evidence, tho' kept back, for the present, will be stifled altogether. And when, by publishing a defence, by which he must abide, he shall have disarmed himself effectually, he will then see how totally he is in the power of an adversary, who hath prudently reserved his fire, and is ready for a fresh attack.

Whatever opinion our *Protestant Popish Historian* may have of the obligations he lies under to me, in this surely he hath reason to acknowledge my having done him real service, that, by acquainting him beforehand, that fresh evidence is ready to be produced against him, he is warned to be upon his guard, and to omit, or to amend those parts of his intended defence which may be built upon a supposition that nothing more is known concerning his *Popish* connexions and correspondences, besides what hath been already made public. Or, rather, this alarming intelligence of farther discoveries ought to induce him, if he knoweth his own interest, to drop all thoughts of saying more for himself than was contained in that never to be forgotten but never to be recorded performance in *Westminster Hall*.

of the 31st of May, confirmed soon after before Justice *Holding*. A prisoner conscious of the existence of a simple matter to convict him, and ignorant how far the intelligence of his prosecutor may reach, will act the prudent part, if he content himself with pleading *Not Guilty*, lest by doing more, and by setting up a defence founded on falsehood, he gain nothing but an accession of infamy. Mr. *Bower*, who must excuse the comparison, would do well to take the hint, and stick close to his two *Affidavits*, without entering upon a detail of particulars, which may serve only to entangle him in a maze of inextricable inconsistencies, and to plunge him deeper into the abyss of guilt.

And, indeed, if one may judge of what he intends to say in his defence, at a proper time, now that his real character is known, from what he used to say in praise of himself, before the sincerity of his conversion was suspected, there will be little occasion to call any other witness besides himself, to demonstrate that he aimed at obtaining a reputation amongst Protestants at the expence of truth. His history of the motives that induced him to fly out of *Italy* and of the occurrences of his journey from *Macerata* to *England*, cannot be considered attentively in all its parts and circumstances, without being pronounced to be a tale, which, tho' it might pass current in a circle of acquaintance whose good opinion of the relator left them no time to advert to the improbabilities of the relation, cannot fail being treated as it ought to be, when put into writing, and submitted to the inspection of an impartial Public. It will not, therefore, be foreign to my purpose, to take the present opportunity of putting into the hands of my readers, this curious piece of history from a manuscript now in my possession. The genuineness of this account will be admitted, when

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I mention, that it can be traced, authentically, up to Mr. Bower himself, being taken from his mouth by a young Lady of *Northumberland*, of the name of C—ne. Several copies of it were taken, one, which I have carefully transcribed, by a very eminent and learned Divine of our church, several of whose acquaintance in *Cumberland* affirmed to him that they had heard the substance of it from Bower himself. Thus authenticated, therefore, as the following Narrative is, the worthy Historian will hardly venture to disavow it. And yet I believe, he will find that the real, uncastrated relation, as I shall now give it, differs from that published by Mr. Barron\*.

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\* Upon this occasion it may not be improper to correct a small inaccuracy in the account which I gave, p. 3. of my former Pamphlet, of the narrative published by Mr. Barron. I mentioned there, that *William Duncombe* Esq; and his son had taken it from the mouth of a considerable person who had heard it from Mr. Bower himself. But since the publication of the Pamphlet I have been informed, that I drop one link of my chain; and that Messrs. *Duncombe* took the account from Dr. *Taylor*, a Physician in *Yorkshire*, who had heard this considerable person relate it, as what had been communicated to him by Bower. — Having rectified a mistake concerning Barron's narrative, I beg leave also to rectify one, equally immaterial, concerning the narrative which I shall publish at present, by desiring my reader to substitute *Northumberland* in the room of *Cumberland* which I mention, p. 4. of my former Pamphlet, as the country of the Lady to whom we are indebted for this curious piece of history. — As I would willingly preserve the character of a candid adversary, especially as I have so strong a cause, I shall lay hold of the present opportunity to acknowledge another inaccuracy in my former Pamphlet. In a note, p. 83. I observed, that the *Scotch* accent with which Mr. Bower speaks, is an argument against the truth of his usual story, that he was carried out of *Scotland* when he was an infant. Upon that occasion I mentioned my having been informed that he hath sometimes amused Protestants with this tale, *That the Grand-Duke*

and which he called *false in almost every particular*, chiefly in this, that it contains many circumstances omitted in the other, which, if they had not been related by one so remarkable for his attachment to truth as Mr. Bower, would be looked upon as exceeding the bounds of probability, and shocking the eagerness of belief.

The publication of this *True History* will not, surely, give any uneasiness to the extraordinary person on whose authority it is related. One of his character cannot be supposed capable of varying his Narrative, or of giving different representations of the same fact, at different times. And, therefore, he will, no doubt, be ready to confirm by a fresh affirmation, should it be requisite, the following story related by him to Mrs. G. several years ago; and, even, be able to give a satisfactory solution to this puzzling question. How it could happen that he should land at *Dover* in the year 1726, as we find in his *Affidavit*, and in 1732, as we shall read in his Narrative. — Besides, by my publication of his adventures before his coming into *England*, the labor of defending himself will be shortened. And as he may now confine himself to clear up the dark parts of his conduct since his arrival amongst us, he will sooner be at liberty to re-  
*Duke of Tuscany, being acquainted with his family, had sent for him into Italy. To do him full justice, I desire that this passage may be read as follows, That he was sent for from Scotland when he was an infant about four years of age, into Italy, by an uncle of his, who had a government given him by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to whom he had been recommended by King James. Whether Mr. Bower said that he was sent for by the Grand Duke, as I asserted at second-hand, or by a uncle, who had been recommended to the Grand Duke by King James, as I have since learnt from the fountain-head, is a circumstance of little consequence, as the material fact is still the same, — that he pretended to be carried abroad when an infant.*

turn to the more important studies, from which the *Papish* conspiracy, so well proved, hath called him off, to complete his *History of the Popes*, which from the specimens that I have given of it, will be so valuable an acquisition to the Protestant cause.

And, if Mr. *Bower* himself must see, with pleasure, the following account of his adventures taken from his own mouth, laid before the Public, I flatter myself, that the generality of my readers will thank me for the insertion of it, and look upon it as the most valuable morsel that I have set before them, in the present entertainment. Tired as they have been with dull extracts, and dry criticisms, with instances of the blunders of the Historian of the *Popes*, of his being as little versed in the writings of the *Old Fathers*, as he is perfectly well acquainted with the writings of *Modern* Papists, their curiosity will be awakened, and their attention be called forth, when they come to this part of my work, where I shall relate a story, which for wonderful incidents, and unexpected revolutions, may vie with any thing to be met with, amongst the *Golden Legends* of the Breviary, or amongst the authentic Records of *Chivalry*.—Nay, I am not without my hopes, that even the *Ladies*, who might, perhaps, have been deterred from looking into this performance, by the dryness of the foregoing part of it, will honor it with their perusal, when once they shall hear, that in it is related a most interesting tale, which may intitle its Hero to a place amongst our most renowned *Travelers*, may render the name of *Archibald Bower* the *Jesuit* as famous as that of *Peter Wilkins* the *Cornish Man*, or *Crusoe* *Richard Davis*, and may afford as much amusement, as the late *Memoirs* of another *Jesuit*, *King Nicolas of Paraguay*. Enriched with this valuable Narrative, my performance, I trust, will not lie long in obscurity on the shelves of my Publisher, or in the studies of the Learned, but be ranked amongst the



valuable productions of the winter, read in the polite circles of persons of taste, and eagerly called for at every circulating Library, by the Female Subscribers to those valuable institutions, as the last *New Romance*.

Before I take my leave of my Reader and introduce Mr. *Bower* in my room, relating his various adventures and *hairbreadth 'scapes*, I shall only observe, that I had, at first, formed a design of adding some notes upon his Narrative, to shew how justly it deserves the character I have given of it. But, upon closer attention, I found that the internal marks of fiction were so numerous as to deter me, and so obvious as to render any such notes unnecessary. One general reflexion I shall make, in allusion to the Motto which I have prefixed from *Delantius*. That one would have thought it impossible that there could exist a man so daring as to assert such facts; or that he should have found any one so credulous as to believe them.

Mr. Bowder's

that if they commit even so enormous a crime against the civil law, even murder, they cannot be apprehended without leave had from the Inquisitor, during which time they have an opportunity to escape. None of these can be absent a night without leave from the Inquisitor: None but offences against the faith or practice of the church come under the cognizance of this court, and they are generally very trifling; such as doing or saying any thing disrespectful with regard to their saints, images, reliques, or the like. When any person is accused to the Inquisitor, he summons the council always in the middle of the night, if any happen to be absent, their place is supplied by a Notary (for all trials must be in full court), when he makes known to them the crime, without naming either the informer or the criminal; any of the council may object to the evidence, and if the number of objectors amount to four, the Inquisitor is obliged to discover the evidence; after which, if they all persist in their objection, the cause must be carried to the high court at *Rome*; otherwise they proceed to give their judgment whether or no the offence be such as the Holy Tribunal ought to take notice of. If it is, the Inquisitor orders any whom he pleases of the council to apprehend the person, at such an hour of the night; a proper guard is assigned him for that purpose, who with dark lanterns and arms attend him to the poor wretche's lodgings, where with the utmost silence and secrecy (for none dare make any noise or resistance on pain of excommunication) he is seized and conveyed into one of their dismal dungeons (which are dug under the Inquisitor's house) and the key delivered to the counsellor, who gives it next morning to the Inquisitor. Here the poor creature is confined seven or eight days without the least glimpse of light or any other sustenance than a little bread and water once a day; when this is expired,



exposed, the court is summoned for the trial; when a Notary always attends to write down all he shall say, and a surgeon, frequently to feel his pulse and tell how much he can bear. The machines or engines for torturing being all fixed, the criminal is brought and without ever being told either his offence or accuser, or having liberty to expostulate, he is exhorted to confess what he hath been guilty of, and if he has the luck to recollect and confess it immediately, yet he must ratify it on the torture, that being, as they term it, a witness: But if he cannot recollect and confess it immediately, he is to be tortured, till he do, not exceeding an hour. One of the council stands close to him on one side to observe that all be done according to their rules; and the surgeon on the other. If they survive this hour, and don't confess, they are carried back to prison for another week, and then tortured again, and so a third time: When they make any effort to confess, they are bore up a little to relieve them while speaking: But let them confess at what time they will, they must still be tortured again to confirm, and likewise undergo what punishment the Inquisitor pleases to inflict for the crime, which is imprisonment in one of their horrid dungeons for one, two, or three years, or for life, which is generally the case. For few, very few that are so unfortunate as to come into the inquisition live to get out, many expiring under the torture (notwithstanding their barbarous assiduity to preserve them for farther misery) or in a few days, sometimes hours after.

Mr. Bower mentioned three different kinds of tortures. That which they reckon most exquisite, and therefore called the queen of tortures, is a rope somewhere fixed in the middle of the room (which is a prodigious height), this, after tying the criminal's hands behind his back, they fasten to them, so that he is drawn up by pulleys a great height in an instant,

infantry and let down again within a few inches of the ground. This is done thrice, by which time he is quite disjointed, and hangs so till the hour expires or he confess. The next torture is something like a smith's anvil, with not a very sharp spike at the top; there are ropes at each corner of the room, which are fastened to pullies, and the other end tied to the criminal's arms and legs, by which he is drawn up a little, and then let down with his back-bone exactly on the spike; where his whole weight rests for eleven hours, by which time the iron has wrought through the bone and into the marrow. They have one slighter for women, which is wrapping matches round their hands, and setting fire to their finger ends, till they are burnt to the bone. And so entirely is My Lord and his Council divested of humanity, that while these poor wretches are groaning under agonies greater than the strongest imagination can paint, nay, even expiring before their eyes, they are diverting themselves with all the idle chit-chat of the town.

While Mr. *Bower* was Professor of Rhetoric in the College, the Inquisitor contracted a great intimacy with him; and one day as they were in conversation, Mr. *Bower*, says he, I have a design upon you, which speech from a Lord Inquisitor (notwithstanding his former avowed friendship) carried some terror in it. But he soon explained himself by telling him, one of their members was so ill that he expected an account of his death every day, and whenever it happened he designed him the honor of filling his place. Mr. *Bower* received this declaration with high satisfaction and proper acknowledgements. Soon after the man died, upon which the Inquisitor sent to him to come and speak to him; which message, tho' he had so much reason to guess the occasion of it, alarmed him a little; however he went immediately.

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My Lord accosted him, *Mr. Bower*, I have sent for you to fulfil my promise; and (taking him in his arms) *you are now one of us.* — A council was called that night; and he was presented to them, and received with the usual form, and after taking the oaths of secrecy, had the directory delivered to him. This book contains all the rules they are to judge and act by, and which, on account of secrecy is written, not printed. And when any member is dying, or advanced to higher preferment, he seals it up with the Inquisition-seal; after which it is death to touch it. — *Mr. Bower* returned home much delighted with his good fortune, and curious to be better acquainted with the nature of his new employment, instead of going to bed he perused his directory. But how was he lost in astonishment and concern, when he found it consisted of rules more infamous and inhuman than can be conceived! Rules which he still flattered himself they could not act by; till he was convinced by seeing them practised on a poor wretch who was brought there in a fortnight after.

But *Mr. Bower* himself can only express what he then felt; and continued to feel during his stay there, which was three years; whilst he was obliged to be not only witness, but concurrent to barbarities which his heart disapproved, and frequently inflicted on persons whom his conscience told him were innocent as himself. It is indeed surprizing that the violent emotions (which appeared in spite of all his care to suppress them) did not give the Inquisitor some suspicion, especially as he had observed that *Mr. Bower* generally objected to the evidence, and once took notice of it to him, saying with great warmth, and thumping his fist upon the council-board, *Mr. Bower*, you always object.

One sufficient proof he gave them how ill he was qualified to be a member of such society, once

when



when it was his turn to sit by the person who was tortured, he chanced to look on the poor man's face, when he really thought he saw death in his visage, and that he was just going to give the last gasp; upon which down he dropt in a swoon, as soon as ever he was brought to himself, that savage Inquisitor said to him, *Mr. Bower*, take your place, you don't reflect that what is done to the body, is for the good of the soul, or you would not faint thus. *Mr. Bower*, it is the weakness of my nature. Nature! replied the Inquisitor, you must conquer nature by grace. *Mr. Bower* said he would endeavour it. The poor man's just expiring put an end to the discourse.

All this while *Mr. Bower* was projecting his escape, and revolving in his mind every possible method of effecting it. But when he considered the formidable difficulties with which each of them was attended, and the terrible consequences, if he failed in the attempt, he was held in suspense that, together with his other circumstances, was scarce supportable; till at last an accident happened which confirmed his resolution; but, at the same time, gave the Inquisitor an opportunity of trying how far dictates tenderer than even those of nature might be suppressed, subdued they could not be, in *Mr. Bower*.—A person was accused to the Inquisition for saying to one that was with him on meeting two *Carthusians*, 'what fools are these to think they shall gain heaven by wearing sack-cloth and going barefoot! They might as well be merry and live as we do, and they would get to heaven as soon.' All *Mr. Bower's* compassion was awakened for the poor man, who, he knew, would be treated with the utmost severity; for this was adjudged a heinous offence against the Holy Faith. But imagine (for it cannot be expressed) what his distress was, when he heard it was his friend! his dearest, his only friend! And when  
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the Inquisitor finished his sentence with—And you, *Mrs Bower*, I order to apprehend him, and bring him hither between two and three this morning. My Lord, you know the connexion. — *Mr. Bower* was proceeding — but sternly interrupted — ‘Connexion! what talk of connexion where the Holy Faith is concerned.’ And rising up to go away — ‘See that it be done, the guards shall wait without.’ And as he passed him — ‘This is the way to conquer nature.’

Now what passed in *Mr. Bower’s* breast, during this solitary interval, till the time appointed (which was about an hour), those that have not represented to themselves, cannot conceive it from the power of language. When his watch told him the hour was come, he goes with his terrible retinue and knocks at the gentleman’s door, when a maid-servant looking out at a window asked who was there? *Mr. Bower* laid, the Holy Inquisition, come down, and open the door, without waking any body, or making the least noise, on pain of excommunication. Down came the poor girl trembling so that she could hardly stand, and in her shift. — Shew me the way to your master’s room. — I know the way, added *Mr. Bower*, when he related this, in such a tone of voice, and with a manner which declared that all the sweet familiarity which subsisted between them, and the many friendly interviews they had had (perhaps in that very apartment) occurred at this instant to his mind. The gentleman and his wife, whom he had married about half a year before, were both soundly sleeping, when they entered the room, the lady waking first shrieked out, for which one of the ruffians gave her a blow on the head, that made the blood gush out. *Mr. Bower* severely reproved him for it. The poor gentleman, who was by this time awaked, hands and eyes lift up with astonishment, *Mr. Bower!* He did not cry, Lord! the

the Inquisition is very, what will become of me! but Mr. Bower's name implied every aggravating circumstance; emphatically depicted the strongest emotion of his soul. — But who can bear the recollection of such a scene? No wonder that Mrs. Bower was forced to turn from him, to be able to execute his commission; nor dared, during the following scenes of this dismal catastrophe, to trust his eyes towards him, lest they should speak the language of his heart plain enough to be understood, not only by his friend, but by the whole court. The Inquisitor said the next morning, when Mr. Bower delivered the key of the prison, and told him the gentleman was there, "This is done like one that is determined at least to conquer the weakness of nature." The gentleman was set at liberty by death, three days after he had suffered the torture. His estate was confiscated to the Inquisition (as usual); allowing a small provision for his widow and for the child, as she happened to be with one. — After this, no one will be surprized that Mr. Bower was determined on an adventure the most desperate that ever man undertook. The manner of it, was all he now disputed. He resolved, at last, to ask leave to go to *Loretto*; and for that purpose waited on the Inquisitor several times; but conscious of his own design, whenever he attempted to speak, he apprehended the words would falter on his tongue, and his very confusion betray him; so that he still returned, as he went on. Till one day being by chance, in a familiar converse with him, he came out with it at once. — "My Lord, it is long since I was at *Loretto*; will your Lordship give me leave to go thither for a week?" With all my heart, he says. And may judge of the anxiety of a mind filled with a project of such importance, and that he added this to the many sleepless nights he had spent. Having all his matters in readiness, and his valuable



valuable papers, (among which was the directory) all in the lining of his cloaths and about himself; when the horse he had hired and ordered early in the morning was come to the door, he carried down his portmanteau and fastened it on himself. As he was mounting, he told the man he did not know whether he should like his horse or no; that he was a very bad horseman, and asked what he valued him at, in case he should not like him? The man told him, and he gave him the money, and set forward, having two loaded pistols concealed about him, in case of any exigence, being resolved never to be taken alive. The method he had fixed on was to take all the by-roads thro' the *Adriatic* into *Switzerland*, which was 400 miles before he could get out of the *Pope's* dominions, and he knew the road only for about 150. When he had got about 10 miles, without meeting a soul, he was at a place where the two ways met, one of which led to *Loretto*, the other the way he proposed going. Here he stood some minutes in the most profound perplexity. The dreadful alternative appeared now in the strongest view. And he was even tempted to quit his darling project as impracticable, and so turn to *Loretto*; but at last, collecting all the force of his staggering resolution, he boldly pushed his horse into the contrary road, and, at that instant, he says he left all his fears behind him.

It was in the month of *April* he set out. For the first 17 days he did not go 100 miles; so terrible were the ways, he was obliged to take among the mountains, thick woods, rocks and precipices; generally no better path than a sheep track, and sometimes not that. Whenever he met any body, which was seldom, he pretended he had lost his way, and enquired for the high road to avoid suspicion. For he very well knew that as soon as ever they

miss'd the papers he had convey'd, or had any other reason to suspect his escape, they would dispatch expresses every way where they could expect to hear any thing of him, and use every other possible method to have him taken; and those expresses actually were 100 miles before him in a very short time. In short, so amazing were the hazards he ran, and the hardships he underwent, that it is not easy to say whether those who heard him relate them were more rejoiced or surprized to see him safe by an *English* fire-side.

During these 17 days he supported himself with a little goat's milk he had got of a shepherd, and sometimes a little course victuals he purchased of some people he met with, who came to cut wood; and his horse with what grass he could find for him: Always choosing his sleeping place where there was most shelter for himself, and grass for the poor beast. Till at the end of this time (having fasted till the noon of the third day) he was obliged to strike into the high road, and go to the first house he came at, which happened to be a post-house, and had just one little room where gentlemen stayed till their horses were changed. He asked the landlady for some victuals, and looking about saw a paper pasted above the door, which proved the most just and minute description of himself; with a reward offered of 300 *l.* to any that should bring him alive to the Inquisition, and 600 *l.* for his head. This was terrible enough, especially as there were two countrymen in the room he was obliged to go into. He endeavoured to hide his face as much as he could, by rubbing it with his handkerchief, blowing his nose, &c. And when he had got into the room looking out at the window, one of the fellows says, this gentleman cares not to be known. Mr. Bower thought there was nothing for it, but

to brave it out; so turning to him, put his handkerchief in his pocket, dropt down his hands, and said to him boldly, 'You rascal, what do you mean? What have I done, that I fear to be known?' 'Look at me, you villain.' He made no reply, but got up, nodded to his companion, who likewise looked at him, both walked out together. Mr. Bower watched them at the window, but a corner obstructed his view for a few minutes. He spied them at last, with two or three more, all in close conference. This had a sad appearance for him; there was not a moment to be lost, so he drew out his pistols, put one in his sleeve, and with the other cocked in his hand, marched into the stable, and without saying a word mounted his horse and rode off very fortunately. They wanted either presence of mind or courage to pursue him, for they certainly knew him by the description. He was obliged to take into the woods again, where he must soon have been famished with hunger; but by the direction of a kind Providence, he met with some wood-cutters that night, when he was almost fainting, who supplied him with some excellent provisions. Here he wandered for sometime in such ways, that he was obliged to assist his horse more than he could do him, clearing the path and walking on foot and leading him. Till at last he was quite out of his depth, and night coming on he laid him down, in a disconsolate condition, one may well imagine, having no sort of guess where he was, or which way he should go. When day began to break he perceived himself, upon a small eminence, from whence he discerned a town at a distance, which he found to be some very considerable one, by the many steeples, spires, &c. which he discovered. Tho' this gave him some satisfaction, yet it was accompanied with terror, as he could not imagine what place



place it was, and might hazard going into the road; however in he went, and by the first person he met he was informed it was *Zucerna*. This was shocking news, here no less formidable a man than the Pope's Nuncio resided, to and from whom all the expresses concerning him had gone and come. This road would not do for him; so the moment his informer was out of sight he left it, and once more betook himself to the mountains, where he traversed up and down for sometime longer, pinched with hunger and cold, and perplexed with uncertainty where he was going. One dismal dark and wet night, he could neither find shelter where he was, nor upstart to go farther, till after groping about a long while, he perceived a little light at little distance, which he endeavoured to make towards, and with the utmost difficulty found a foot-path, but that so narrow and uneven, without a glimpse of light to direct him, that he was forced to feel with one foot a great way before he durst move the other. At last he reached the place from whence the light came, which proved a poor little cottage. Here he knocked and called, till one looked out from the top of the house as he thought, and asked who he was, and what brought him there. *Mr. Bower* said, he was a stranger and had lost his way. Way, replied the man, here is no way to lose. Why, where, says *Mr. Bower*, am I? In the canton of *Bern*, says he. In the canton of *Bern*? Thank God, I am in the canton of *Bern*, in rapture said *Mr. Bower*. Thank God, you are (replied the man), but for God's sake how came you here? *Mr. Bower* begged he should come down and open the door, and he would satisfy him. He did so, when *Mr. Bower* asked him if he had heard anything of a person who had escaped from the Inquisition? Aye, heard of him, we have all heard of him. There is such

blow

a fend-

expressing, and so much noise about  
 him, that God grant, he may be safe, added he,  
 and keep him out of their hands. *John* said  
 Mr. *Bower*, the very person. The man transported  
 with joy clasped him in his arms, kissed him, and  
 after many other expressions of kindness ran to call  
 his wife, who came with all the pleasure imaginable  
 in her countenance, and making one of her best  
 courtesies, kissed his hand. Her husband spoke  
 Italian, as most of the borderers do, but she could  
 not, and Mr. *Bower* did not understand Swiss, which  
 obliged him to make his compliments in dumb show,  
 or by the husband. They both expressed great con-  
 cern that they had no better accommodations for  
 him, if they had had a bed for themselves he should  
 have had it; however he should have very clean  
 straw, and what covering they had. But first the  
 good man hastened to get off his wet cloaths, and  
 wrapped something about him till they were dry,  
 and the wife to get ready what victuals they had,  
 which they lamented (probably for the first time)  
 were no better, than a little sowr-kROUT, and a few  
 new-laid eggs. A new-laid egg, Mr. *Bower* said,  
 was a delicacy, and no doubt it was at that time,  
 and in such good company. There was three eggs  
 served up with the kROUT, out of which he made a  
 very comfortable meal, and afterwards enjoyed what  
 one may properly call a repose, for it was quiet and  
 secure! As soon as he began to stir in the morn-  
 ing, in came the good Swiss and his wife (who had  
 been long up, but would not move for fear of dis-  
 turbing him) to know how he had rested. She dres-  
 sed in her holiday cloaths. After they had obliged  
 him to breakfast upon two eggs, which the wife had  
 reserved out of her stock, for that purpose, the hus-  
 band set out with him to show him the road to  
*Bern*, which town was not a great way off, but

would

would first insist on taking him back a little to shew him the way he had come the night before. *Mr. Bower* did not much like this; the man perceiving his doubt, and him for distrusting that Providence which had so wonderfully preserved him, and soon convinced him that he only wanted to encrease his dependence upon it, for the future, by shewing him the danger he had been in and escaped. For when they came to the place, he saw that he had walked, and his horse too, where it was scarce of the breadth of the horse, and a dreadful precipice on each side, enough to make him shudder to look at. The man made so many just and pious reflexions upon this occasion, that *Mr. Bower* was both charmed and surprized. He then went with him some miles in the road to *Bern*, nor left him till he was out of danger of losing his way; and then with a thousand good wishes took his leave. And so truly does religion refine and correct the sentiments, that when *Mr. Bower* offered him something, he, notwithstanding his extreme poverty, obstinately refused it, saying he had his reward in being any ways instrumental to his safety; yet *Mr. Bower* forced something upon him, as he could not otherwise justify it to himself. *Mr. Bower* says, that, in general, the Protestants who border on the *Papists* are remarkably zealous.

He now proceeded to *Bern*, where he enquired for the Minister, to whom he discovered himself, and met with as hearty a welcome, as he had done from the honest *Swiss*, with the advantage of more elegant entertainment. This gentleman told him that he would be very glad to have his company longer; but, tho' he was sure of protection there from open violence, yet he did not think him secure from secret treachery, and therefore advised him to set forward next morning for *Basel*. This town is situated on the *Rhine*, and a boat goes at some stated



would first insist on taking him back a little to new times from thence to *Holland*, with a pack of desperate people from all parts, who have fled from the laws of their respective countries, for theft, murder, and other shocking crimes. Among this crew the gentleman advised *Mr. Bower* to take a place, as the most expeditious way of getting to *England*; and wrote his opinion in a letter of recommendation which he gave him, to a friend of his a Minister at *Basil*; who when he got there received him very kindly, and much approved of his scheme. The boat was to sail in two days, during which time he kept close quarters; and got himself equipt for his company, putting his other clothes into his portmanteau, which he was instructed to take particular care of, so made it his seat by day and his pillow by night. His horse he could take no farther, and it was, so much endeared to him by the hardships it had shared with him, that he could not think of leaving it, but in the hands of a very kind master; so made a present of it to the Minister, after obliging him to promise that none but himself should ride upon it, and when he grew old or infirm it should be comfortably maintained; and so inseparable is humanity and tenderness from true greatness of soul, that *Mr. Bower* shed some tears, in parting with his companion, and assistant in his difficulties. He now took his place in the boat, where he was startled at the conversation of a parcel of wretches, such as he had never before met with. For, tho' undoubtedly they were not worse than the company he left in the Inquisition, yet as barbarity was a science there, they had studied refinements which these were not masters of. Had as this company was, he would have been glad to have staid in it a while longer than he did; for the boat presently sprung a leak, which obliged the master to put in at *Strasburgh*, where he said they must stay a fort-

fortnight to have it repaired. This would not do for Mr. Bower, so putting off his shabby dress in the first inn he went to, he equipt himself again like a gentleman, hid his ragged clothes under the bed, stole out with his portmanteau and went to a good tavern, from whence he took place in a diligence, or stage-coach, to go by land to Calais. For the first three or four days he did not hear a word concerning himself; so that he was in hopes the news had not reached France; but was soon undeceived, for in the two or three last stages every body was full of it, which alarmed him prodigiously.

When he came to the inn at Calais, the first company he beheld was two Jesuits, with the badge of the inquisition (which is a red cross) upon them in a room with several fellows, who are appointed to take care of the high-roads, and to apprehend any criminal who is making his escape. What a sight was this! Mr. Bower immediately hastened to the water side to enquire when the packet sailed for England, and was told not till monday next, and this was friday. He then turned to a waterman, and asked if he would carry him over in an open boat; "are you in earnest, sir?" Mr. Bower said with some impatience he was, and would reward him handsomely. Truly, says he, I am not such a fool as to drown both you and myself. He made the same proposal to another who was equally surprised, and returned him the like answer. He was soon sensible that this was a wrong step, but every thing seemed to distress him; for every bodie's eyes were now fixed on him, as a person of extraordinary consequence; either he had dispatches of the last importance, or was some enormous offender escaping from justice; so that, in short he doubted the possibility of getting back to his inn, and suspected every one he met was going to lay hold on him. But when he got there, seeing the room empty where the Jesuits had been, he

said

told to a woman that belonged to the house, "What  
 become of the good company I left here?" "O sir,  
 says she, I am sorry to tell you, but they are up  
 at stairs searching your portmanteau. Think what a  
 situation this was! Not a moment leisure to consider  
 in. He drew out his pistols, but what way might he  
 go? By water he could not. To get out of the gates  
 he must pass the guards, and most probably they were  
 apprised of him! Was it possible for him to slip out and  
 hide himself any where till dark, and then scale the  
 walls? He did not know the height of them, and if he  
 failed in the attempt he was ruined. The dangers he had  
 surmounted served to aggravate his present circum-  
 stances — after outweathering so long a storm, to  
 perish within sight of the desired haven! (and what  
 but the most singular instance of Providence could have  
 prevented it?) In the midst of these distracting thoughts  
 he heard some company laughing and talking very  
 loud, and hearkening a moment at the door, found it  
 was a language he did not understand: so concluding  
 them to be *English*, he instantly rushed into the room,  
 and put them into almost as great confusion as he was  
 in himself; at last seeing My Lord *Baltimore* whom he  
 had formerly known in *Italy*, he addressed him with  
 "My Lord, I would beg the favour of a word in pri-  
 vate with your Lordship." This but increased the  
 astonishment which his appearance had thrown My  
 Lord and his company into, a pistol cocked in his hand,  
 another sticking in his sleeve, and entering the room,  
 as Lord *Baltimore* afterwards told him, with such a  
 determined air. My Lord desired he would lay down  
 his pistol, he did so, begging pardon for not doing it  
 before: some of the gentlemen told him of the other,  
 which he likewise laid down. My Lord asked him if he  
 had no other arms about him? and being assured he  
 had not, went aside a moment, when Mr. *Bower* made  
 himself known to him. Mr. *Bower*! cries he, in  
 amaze-



amazement, you are undone and I cannot protect you; they are above searching your apartment. But (a lucky thought that instant occurring) let us all rise up and get to my boat. This was immediately done, and succeeded; for the boat being very near, they reached it and were not observed, when all jumping in, rowed with four pair of oars to the yacht, which laid about two miles off at sea (in it My Lord and his company had just come a pleasuring) and setting sail with a fair wind, presently got to *Dover*, where *he landed safe on the 11th day of July 1732.*

22. 9. 19

# F I N I S.

## ERRATA.

Page 9. lin. 16. after *Optatus dele* the Comma.

- 17. l. 7. for *suppositions*, read *supposititious*.
- 43. Not. l. 2. for *Pope*, read *Page*.
- 57. l. 31. for *may* read *nay*.
- 62. Not. l. 10. for *yet* read *that*.
- - - l. 11. for *by* r. *by*.
- 80. Not. l. 3. for *be* r. *it*.